



*The figure that you here see put
 Was for H. Bunton Forman cut,
 Amid his household gods to bide
 And relics culled from far and wide.
 This book is his on whom you look;
 For Scott his graving tackle took*

*And etched the man to watch therein,
 That none by guile the book might win.
 Then sist'ers four! of great and small
 The world holds books enough for all.
 Of roughly handling this beware;
 And put it in its place with care.*

1875



C. Hutchinson

241

1874

6.7.74

THE
REHEARSAL
TRANSPROSD:

OR,
ANIMADVERSIONS

Upon a late Book, Intituled,

A PREFACE
SHEWING

*What Grounds there are of
Fears and Jealousies of*
POPERY.

The Second Edition Corrected.

LONDON,

Printed in the Year, 1673.

RECORD

NOTION

CE

1871

ANIMADVERSIONS

Upon the Preface to

Bishop BRAMHALL'S

VINDICATION, &c.

THe Author of this Preface had first writ a *Discourse of Ecclesiastical Policy*; after that, *A Defence and Continuation of the Ecclesiastical Policy*; and there he concludes his Epistle to the Reader in these words: *But if this be the Penance I must undergo for the wantonness of my Pen, to answer the impertinent and slender Exceptions of every peevish and disingenious Caviller; Reader, I am reformed from my incontinency of Scribbling, and do heartily bid thee an Eternal Farewel.* Now this Expression lies open

pen to his own *Dilemma* against the Nonconformists confessing in their Prayers to God such heinous Enormities. For if he will not accept his own Charge, his Modesty is all Impudent and Counterfeit: Or, if he will acknowledge it, why then he had been before, and did still remain upon Record, the same lewd, wanton, and incontinent Scribler.

But, however, I hop'd he had been a Clergy-man of Honour, and that when herein the World and he himself were now so fully agreed in the censure of his Writings, he would have kept his Word; or at least that his Pen would not, so soon, have created us a disturbance of the same nature, and so far manifested how indifferent he is as to the business either of Truth or Eternity. But the Author, alas, instead of his own, was faln now into *Amaryllis's Dilemma*: (I perceive the Gentleman hath Travelled by his remembring *Chi lava la testa al asino perde il sapone*, and therefore hope I may without Pedantry quote the words in her own *whining Italian*).

S'il peccar e sì dolce e'l non peccar si necessario,

O troppo imperfetta Natura che ripugni a la Legge.

O troppo dura Legge che natura offendi.

If to scribe be so sweet, and not to scribe be so necessary ;

O too frail Inclination, that contradicth Obligation :

O too severe Obligation, that offendeth Inclination.

For all his Promise to write no more; I durst alwayes have laid Ten Pound to a Crown on Natures side. And accordingly he hath now blessed us with, as he calls it, *A Preface shewing what Grounds there are of Fears and Jealousies of Popery.*

It will not be unpleasant to hear him begin his Story. *The ensuing Treatise of Bishop Bramhall's being somewhat superannuated, the Bookseller was very solicitous to have it set off with some Preface that might recommend it to the Genius of the Age, and reconcile it to the present juncture of Affairs.* A pretty task indeed: That is as much as to say, To trick up the good old Bishop in a yel-

low Coif and a Bulls-head, that he may be fit for the Publick; and appear in Fashion. In the mean time 'tis what I alwayes presaged: From a Writer of Books, our Author is already dwinded to a Preface-monger, and from Prefaces I am confident he may in a short time be improved to endite Tickets for the Bear-Garden. But the Bookseller I see was a cunning Fellow, and knew his Man. Fer who so proper as a young Priest to sacrifice to the Genius of the Age; yea, though his Conscience were the Offering? And none more ready to Nick a juncture of Affairs, than a malapert Chaplain; though not one indeed of a hundred but dislocates them in the handling. And yet our Author is very maidenly, and condescends to his Bookseller not without some reluctance, as being, forsooth, first of all *none of the most zealous Patrons of the Press.*

Though he hath so lately forfeited his Credit, yet herein I dare belive him: For the Press hath owed him a shame a long time, and is but now beginning to pay off the Debt. The Press (that *villanous Engine*) invented much about the same

same time with the Reformation, that hath done more mischief to the Discipline of our Church, then all the Doctrine can make amends for. 'Twas an happy time when all Learning was in Manuscript, and some little Officer, like our Author, did keep the Keys of the Library. When the Clergy needed no more knowledg then to read the Liturgy, and the Laity no more Clerkship than to save them from Hanging. But now, since Printing came into the World, such is the mischief, that a Man cannot write a Book but presently he is answered. Could the Press but once be conjured to obey only an *Imprimatur*, our Author might not disdain perhaps to be one of its most zealous Patrons. There have been ways found out to banish Ministers, to Fine not only the People, but even the Grounds and Fields where they Assembled in Conventicles: But no Art yet could prevent these seditious meetings of Letters. Two or three brawny Fellows in a Corner, with meer Ink and Elbow-grease, do more harm than an *hundred Systematical Divines* with their *sweaty*

Preaching. And, which is a strange thing, the very Sponges, which one would think should rather deface and blot out the whole Book, and were anciently used to that purpose, are become now the Instruments to make things legible. Their ugly Printing-Letters, that look but like so many rotten Teeth, How oft have they been pull'd out by *B.* and *L.* the Publick Tooth-drawers! and yet these rascally Operators of the Press have got a trick to fasten them again in a few Minutes, that they grow as firm a Set, and as Biting and Talkative as ever. O *Printing!* how hast thou disturb'd the Peace of Mankind! that Lead, when moulded into Bullets, is not so mortal as when founded into Letters! There was a mistake sure in the Story of *Cadmus*; and the Serpents Teeth which he sowed were nothing else but the Letters which he invented. The first Essay that was made towards this Art was in single Characters upon Iron, where-with of old they stigmatized Slaves and remarkable Offenders; and it was of good use sometimes to brand a Schismatick.

matick. But a *Bulkie* Dutchman diverted it quite from its first Institution, and contriving those innumerable *Synagmes* of Alphabets, hath pestered the World ever since with the *gross Bodies* of their German Divinity. One would have thought in Reason, that a Dutchman at least might have contented himself only with the Wine-press.

But, next of all, our Author, beside his Aversion from the Press, alledges, that *he is as much concerned as De-wit, or any of the high and Mighty Burgomasters, in matters of a closer and more comfortable importance to himself and his own Affairs.* And yet who ever shall take the pains to read over his Preface, will find that it intermeddles with the King, the Succession, the Privy-Council, Popery, Atheism, Bishops, Ecclesiastical Government, and above all with Non-conformity, and *J. O.* A man would wonder that this thing should be of a *closer importance.* But being more comfortable too, I conclude it must be one of these three things; either his *Salvation*, or a *Benefice*, or a *Female.* Now as to *Salvation* he could not be so much

concern'd: For that care was over; there hath been a course taken to insure all that are on his bottom. And he is yet surer of a Benefice; or else his Patrons must be very ungrateful. He can not have deserved less than a Prebend for his first Book, a *Sine-cure* for his second, and for this third a Rectorship, although it were that of *Malmsbury*. Why, then of necessity it must be a Female. For that I confess might have been a sufficient Excuse from Writing of Prefaces, and against the Importunity of the Bookseller. 'Twas fit that all Business should have given place to the work of Propagation. Nor was there any thing that could more closely import him, than that the Race and Family of the Railers should be perpetuated among Mankind. Who could in Reason expect that a Man should in the same moments undertake the labour of an Author and a Father? Nevertheless, he saith, he could not but yield so far as to improve every fragment of time that he could get into his own disposal, to gratifie the Importunity of the Bookseller. Was ever Civility graduated up and in-
hanc'd.

hanc'd to such a value! His Mistress herself could not have endeared a Favour so nicely, nor granted it with more sweetness.

Was the Bookseller more Importunate, or the Author more Courteous?

The Author was the Pink of Courtesy, the Bookseller the Bar of Importunity.

And so, not being able to shake him off, this, he saith, hath brought forth this Preface, such an one as it is; for how it will prove, he himself neither is, nor (till 'tis too late) ever shall be a competent Judge, in that it must be ravish'd out of his hands before his thoughts can possibly be cool enough to revive or correct the Indecencies either of its style or contrivance. He is now growing a very Enthusiast himself. No Nonconformist-Minister, as it seems, could have spoke more *extempore*. I see he is not so civil to his Readers as he was to his Bookseller: And so A. C. and James Collins be gratified, he cares not how much the rest of the World be disobliged. Some Man that had less right to be fastidious and confident, would, before he exposed himself in publick, both have cool'd his
Thoughts,

Thoughts; and corrected his Indecencies: Or would have considered whether it were necessary or wholsom that he should Write at all. Forasmuch as one of the Ancient *Sophists*. (they were a kind of Orators in his Form) kill'd himself with declaiming while he had a Bone in his Throat, and *7. O.* was still in being. *Put up your Trumpery good noble Marques.* But there was no holding him. Thus it must be, and no better, when a man's Phancy is up, and his Breeches are down; when the Mind and the Body make contrary Assignations, and he hath both a Bookseller at once and a Mistress to satisfy: Like *Archimedes*, into the Street he runs out naked with his Invention. And truly, if at any time, we might now pardon this Extravagance and Rapture of our Author; when he was pearch'd upon the highest Pinnacle of Ecclesiastical Felicity, being ready at once to assuage his Concupiscence, and wreck his Malice.

But yet he knows not which way his Mind will work it self and its thoughts. This is *Bayes* the Second. — 'Tis no matter

matter for the Plot — The Intrigo was out of his head — But you'l apprehend it better when you see't. Or rather, he is like Bayes his Actors, that could not guess what Humour they were to be in: whether Angry, Melancholy, Merry, or in Love. Nay, insomuch that he saith, he is neither Prophet nor Astrologer enough to foretel. Never Man certainly w s so unacquainted with himself. And, indeed, 'tis part of his discretion to avoid his Acquaintance, and tell him as little of his mind as may be: For he is a dangerous fellow. But I must ask his pardon if I treat him too homely. It is his own fault that misled me at first, by concealing his quality under such vulgar comparisons as *De wit* and the *Burgomasters*. I now see it all along; This can be no less a man then Prince *Volscius* himself, in dispute betwixt his Boots which way his mind will work it self; whether Love shall detain him, with his closer Importance, *Parthenope*, whose Mother, Sir, sells Ale by the Town-wall: or Honour shall carry him to head the Army that lies concealed for him at *Knightsbridg*, and to incounter *J. O.*

Go

*Go on cries Honour: tender Love saith
Nay.*

*Honour aloud commands, Pluck both
Boots on,*

*But safer Love doth whisper, Put on
none.*

And so now when it comes that he is
not Prophet nor Astrologer enough to fore-
tel what he will do, 'tis just:

*For as bright Day, with black approach
of Night,*

*Contending, makes a doubtful puzzling
Light;*

*So does my Honour and my Love toge-
ther*

Puzzle me so, I am resolv'd on neither.

Yet no Astrologer could possibly have
more advantage and opportunity to
make a Judgment. For he knew the
very minute of the Conception of his
Preface, which was immediately upon
his Majesties issuing his Declaration of
Indulgence to Tender Consciences. Nor
could he be ignorant of the moment
when it was brought forth. And I can

so.

so far refresh his Memory, that it came out in the Dog. dayes,

— the Season hot, and She too near :

O mighty Love ! J. O. will be undone. According to the Rule in Davenant's Ephemerides ; But the heads which at this moment, and under the present Schemes and Aspects of the Heavens he intends to treat of. (pure Sydrophe!) are these two : First, Something of the Treatise it self. Secondly, Of the seasonableness of its publication : And this, unless his Humour jade him ('tis come to a Dog-trot already) will lead him further into the Argument as it relates to the present state of things, and from thence 'tis odds but he shall take occasion to bestow some Animadversions upon one J. O. There's no trusting him. He doubtless knew from the beginning what he intended. And so too all his story of the Bookseller, and all the *Volo Nola's* and *shall-I shall-I's*, betwixt them, was nothing but fooling : And he now all along owns himself to be the Publisher, and alledges the flighter and the main reasons that induced him. Would he had told us so at first ; for then he had saved me thus much of my labour.

labour. Though, as it chances, it lights not amiss on our Author, whose delicate Stomach could not brook that *J.O.* should say, *He had prevailed with himself, much against his inclination, to bestow a few (and those idle) hours upon examining his Book:* And yet he himself stumbles so notoriously upon the very same fault at his own threshold.

But now from this Preamble he falls into his Preface to Bishop *Bramhall*: Though indeed like *Bayes* his Prologue, that would have serv'd as well for an Epilogue; I do not see but the Preface might have past as well for a Postscript, or the Headstall for a Crooper. And our Authors *Divinity* might have gone to *Push-Pin* with the Bishop, which of their two Treatises was the *Procatartical Cause* of both their Edition. For, as they are coupled together, to say the truth, 'tis not discernable, as in some Animals, whether their motion begin at the Head or the Tail; whether the Author made his Preface for Bishop *Bramhall's* dear sake, or whether he published the Bishop's Treatise for sake of his own dear Preface. For my own part:

I think it reasonable that the Bishop and our Author, should (like fair Gamesters at Leap-frog) stand and skip in their turns; and however our Author got it for once, yet, if the Bookseller should ever be sollicitous for a Second Edition, that then the Bishops Book should have the Precedence.

But before I commit my self to the dangerous depths of his Discourse, which I am now upon the brink of, I would with his leave make a motion: That, instead of Author, I may henceforth indifferently call him Mr. *Bayer*, as oft as I shall see occasion. And that, first, because he hath no Name, or at least would own it, though he himself writes under the greatest security, and gives us the first Letters of other Mens Names before he be asked them. Secondly, because he is I perceive a lover of Elegancy of Style, and can endure no mans Tautologies but his own, and therefore I would not distaste him with too frequent repetition of one word. But chiefly, because Mr. *Bayer* and he do very much Symbolize; in
their

their Understandings, in their Expressions, in their Humour, in their Contempt and Quarrelling of all others, though of their own Profession. Because, our Divine, the Author, manages his contest with the same prudence and civility, which the Players and Poets have practised of late in their several Divisions. And, lastly, because both their Talents do peculiarly lie in exposing and personating the Nonconformists. I would therefore give our Author a Name, the Memory of which may perpetually excite him to the exercise and highest Improvement of that Virtue. For, our *Cicero* doth not yet equal our *Roscins*, and one turn of *Lacy's face* hath more *Ecclesiastical Policy* in it, than all the Books of our Author put together. Besides, to say Mr. *Bayes* is more civil than to say *Villain* and *Caitiff*, though these indeed are more *want*. And, to conclude; The Irrefragable Doctor of School-Divinity, pag. 460. of his *Defence*, determining concerning Symbollicall Ceremonies, hath warranted me that not only Governours, but any thing else, may have

have power to appropriate new names to things, without having absolute authority over the things themselves. And therefore henceforward, seeing I am on such sure ground, *Author*, or Mr. *Bayes*, whether I please. Now, having had our Dance, let us advance to our more serious Counsels.

And first, Our Author begins with a Panegyrick upon Bishop *Bramhal*; a Person whom my Age had not given me leave to be acquainted with, nor my good fortune led me to converse with his Writings: But for whom I had collected a deep Reverence from the general Reputation he carried, beside the Veneration due to the Place he filled in the Church of *England*. So that our Author having a mind to shew us some proof of his Good Nature, and that his Eloquence laid not all in Satyr and Invectives, could not, in my opinion, have fixed upon a fitter subject of commendation. And therefore I could have wished for my own sake, that I had missed this occasion of being more fully informed of some of the Bishop's Principles, whereby I have lost part of that

that pleasure which I had so long enjoyed in thinking well of so considerable a Person. But however, I recreate my self with believing that my simple judgment cannot, beyond my intention, abate any thing of his just value with others. And seeing he is long since dead, which I knew but lately, and now learn it with regret, I am the more obliged to repair in my self whatsoever breaches of his Credit, by that additional Civility which consecrates the Ashes of the Deceased. But by this means I am come to discern how it was possible for our Author to speak a good word for any man. The Bishop was expired, and his Writings jump much with our Author. So that if you have a mind to die, or to be of his Party, (there are but these two Conditions) you may perhaps be rendered capable of his Charity. And then write what you will, he will make you a Preface that shall recommend you and it to the Genius of the Age, and reconcile it to the Juncture of Affairs. But truly he hath acquitted himself herein so ill-favouredly to the Bishop

that I do not think it so much worth
to gain his approbation ; and I had ra-
ther live and enjoy mine own Opinion,
than be so treated. For, beside his re-
flexion on the Bishop, and the whole
Age he lived in ; that *he was, as far as*
the prejudice of the Age would permit him,
an acute Philosopher (which is a suffi-
cient taste of Mr. Bayes his Arrogance,
that no Man, nor Age can be so perfect
but must abide his Censure, and of the
efficious virulence of his Humour,
which infuses it self, by a malignant
remark, that (but for this acuter Phi-
losopher) no man else would have
thought of, into the Praises of him
whom he most intended to celebrate :)
If, I say, beside this, you consider the
most elaborate and studious Periods of
his Commendation, you find it at best
very ridiculous, by the Language he
seems to transcribe out of the *Grand*
Cyrus and *Cassandra*, but the Exploits
to have borrowed out of the *Knight of*
the Sun, and *King Arthur*. For in a lu-
scious and effeminate Style he gives
him such a *Termagant* Character, as
must either fright or turn the Stomach
of

of any Reader ; *Being a brave and enterprising temper, of an active and sprightly mind, he was alwayes busied either in contriving or performing great Designs.* Well, Mr. Bayes , I suppose by this, that he might have been an over-match to the Bishop of Cullen, and the Bishop of Strasburg. In another place, *He finished all the glorious Designs that he undertook.* This might have become the Bishop of Munster before he had rais'd the Siege from Groningen. *As he was able to accomplish the most gallant attempts, so he was always ready not only to justify their Innocence, but to make good their Bravery.* I was too prodigal of my Bishops at first, and now have never another left in the Gazette, which is too our Anthors Magazin. *His Reputation and Innocence were both Armor of Proof against Toryes and Presbyterians.* But me-thinks Mr. Bayes having to do with such dangerous Enemies , you should have furnished him too with some weapon of Offence, a good old Fox, like that of another Hero , his Contemporary in *Action upon the Scene of Ireland,* of whom it was sung,

Down

*Down by his side he wore a Sword of
price,*

*Keen as a Frost, glaz'd like a new made
Ice :*

*That cracks men shell'd in Steel in a
less trice,*

*Than Squirrels Nuts, or the Highlan-
ders Lice.*

Then he saith, 'Tis true, the Church of Ireland was the largest Scene of his Actions ; but yet there, in a little time, he wrought out such wondrous Alterations, and so exceeding all belief, as may convince us that he had a mind large and active enough to have managed the Roman Empire at its greatest extent. This indeed of our Author's is Great : And yet it reacheth not to a strain of his Fellow-Pendets in the History of the Mogol ; where he tells Dancehment Kan, When you put your foot in the Stirrup, and when you march upon Horseback in the Front of the Cavalry, the Earth trembles under your feet, the eight Elephants that bold it on their Heads not being able to support it. But enough of this Trash.

Beside

Beside that it is the highest *Indecorum* for a Divine to write in such a style as this [part Play-book and part Romance] concerning a Revered Bishop; these improbable *Elogies* too are of the greatest disservice to their own design, and do in effect diminish alwayes the Person whom they pretend to magnifie. Any worthy Man may pass through the World unquestion'd and safe with a moderate Recommendation; but when he is thus set off, and bedawb'd with Rhetorick, and embroider'd so thick that you cannot discern the Ground, it awakens naturally (and not altogether unjustly) Interest, Curiosity, and Envy. For all men pretend a share in Reputation, and love not to see it ingross'd and monopoliz'd, and are subject to enquire, (as of great Estates suddenly got) whether he came by all this Honestly, or of what credit the Person is that tells the Story? And the same hath happened as to this Bishop, while our Author attributes to him such Atchievements, which to one that could believe the Legend of Captain Jones, might not be incredible. I have

have heard that there was indeed such a Captain, an honest brave fellow: but a Wag that had a mind to be merry with him, hath quite spoil'd his History. Had our Author epitomiz'd the Legend of sixty six Books *de Virtutibus Sancti Patricii* (I mean not the Ingenious Writer of the *Friendly Debates*, but St. Patrick the Irish Bishop) he could not have promis'd us greater Miracles. And 'tis well for him that he hath escaped the fate of *Secundinus*, who (as *Josselin* relates it) acquainting *Patrick* that he was inspired to compose something in his Commendation, the Bishop foretold the Author should die as soon as 'twas perfected. Which so done, so happened. I am sure our Author had died no nother death but of this his own *Preface*, and a surfeit upon Bishop *Bramhall*, if the swelling of Truth could have choak'd him. He tells us, I remember somewhere, that this same Bishop of *Derry* said, the *Scots* had a civil expression for these *Improvers of Verity*, that they are good *Company*; and I shall say nothing severer, than that our Author speaks the language

B

guag

guage of a Lover, and so may claim some pardon, if the habit and excess of his Courtship do as yet give a tincture to his discourse upon more ordinary Subjects. For I would not by any means be mistaken, as if I thought our Author so sharp set, or so necessitated, that he should make a dead Bishop his Mistress; so far from that, that he hath taken such a course, that if the Bishop were alive, he would be out of love with himself. He hath, like those frightful Looking-Glasses, made for sport, represented him in such bloated Lineaments, as, I am confident, if he could see his face in it, he would break the Glass. For, hence it falls out too, that men seeing the Bishop furbish'd up in so Martial accoutrements, like another *Odo* Bishop of *Baieux*, and having never before heard of his prowess, begin to reflect what *Giants* he Defeated, and what *Damosels* he Rescued. Serious Men consider whether he were Engaged in the conduct of the *Irish* Army, and to have brought it over upon *England*, for the Imputation of which the Earle of *Strafford* his Patron so underserved.

servedly suffered. But none knows any thing of it. Others think it is not to be taken literally; but the wonderful and unheard of Alterations that he wrought out in *Ireland*, are meant of some Reformation that he made there in things of his own Function. But then men ask again, how he comes to have all the honour of it, and whether all the while that great Bishop *Usher*, his Metropolitane, were unconcern'd? For even in Ecclesiastical Combates, how instrumental soever the Captain hath been, the General usually carries away the honour of the Action. But the good *Primate* was engaged in Designs of lesser moment, and was writing his *de Primordiis Ecclesie Britanicae*, and the Story of *Pelagius* our Countryman. He, honest man, was deep gone in *Grubstreet* and *Polemical Divinity*, and troubled with fits of *Modern Orthodoxy*. He satisfied himself with being admired by the blue and white Aprons, and pointed at by the more judicious Tankard-bearers. Nay, which is worst of all, he undertook to abate of our Episcopal Grandeur, and condescended indeed to re-

duce the Ceremonious Discipline in these Nations to the primitive Simplicity. What then was this that Bishop *Bramhal* did? Did he, like a Protestant Apostle, in one day convert thousands of the *Irish* Papists? The contrary is evident by the *Irish* Rebellion and Massacre, which, notwithstanding his *Publick Employment and great Abilities*, happened in his time. So that after all our Authors bombast, when we have search'd all over, we find our selves bilk'd in our expectation: and he hath erected him, like a *St. Christopher* in the popish Churches, as big as ten Porters, and yet only imploy'd to sweat under the burden of an *Infant*.

All that appears of him is, first, that he busied himself about a *Cattolick Agreement among the Churches of Christendom*. But as to this, our Author himself saith, that he was not *so vain, or so presuming as to hope to see it effected in his days*. And but two pages before he told us, that the Bishop finish'd *all the glorious Designs which he undertook*. But this Design of his he draws out in such a circuit of words, that 'tis better taking

taking it from the Bishop himself, who speaks more plainly alwayes, and much more to the purpose. And he saith, pag. 87. of his Vindication, *My design is rather to reconcile the Popish Party to the Church of England, than the Church of England to the Pope.* And how he manages it, I had rather any man would learn by reading over his own Book, than that I should be taught to misrepresent him, which I might, unless I transcribe the whole. But in summe it seems to me that he is upon his own single judgment too liberal of the Publick, and that he trenches both on our part more than he hath Authority for, and grants more to the Popish than they can of right pretend to. It is however indeed a most glorious Design, to reconcile all the Churches to one Doctrine and Communion (though some that meddle in it do it chiefly in order to fetter men straiter under the formal bondage of fictitious Discipline); but it is a thing rather to be wished and prayed for, than to be expected from these kind of endeavours. It is so large a Field, that no man can see to the end

of it; and all that have adventured to travel it, have been bewildred. That Man must have a vast opinion of his own sufficiency, that can think he may by his Oratory or Reason, either in his own time, or at any of our Author's *more happy Junctures of Affairs*, so far perswade and fascinate the *Roman Church*, having by a regular contexture of continued Policy for so many Ages interwoven it self with the Secular Interest, and made it self necessary to most Princes, and having at last Erected a Throne of Infallibility over their Consciences, as to prevail with her to submit a Power and Empire so acquired and established in Compromise to the Arbitration of an humble Proposer. God only in his own time, and by the inscrutable Methods of his Providence, is able to effect that *Alteration*: Though I think too he hath signified in part by what means he intends to accomplish it, and to Range so considerable a Church, and once so exemplary, into Primitive Unity and Christian Order. In the mean time such projects are fit for pregnant Scholars that

that have nothing else to do, to go big with for forty years, and may qualify them to discourse with Princes and States-men at their hours of leisure; but I never saw that they came to Use or Possibility: No more than that of *Alexanders Architect*, who proposed to make him a Statue of the Mountain *Atbos* (and that was no Molehill;) and among other things, that Statue to carry in its hand a great habitable City. But the Surveyor was gravell'd, being asked whence that City should be supplied with Water. I would only have ask'd the Bishop, when he had carv'd and hammer'd the Romists and Protestants into one *Colossian Church*, how we should have done as to matter of Bibles. For the Bishop, p. 117. complains that unqualified people should have a promiscuous License to Read the Scriptures: And you may guess thence, if he had moreover the Pope to friend, how the Laity should have been used. There have been attempts in former Ages, to dig through the Separating *Istmos* of *Peloponnesus*; and another to make communication between

the *Red-Sea* and the *Mediterraneans*, both more easie than to cut this *Ecclesiastick Canal*, and yet both laid by, partly upon the difficulty of doing it, and partly upon the inconveniences if it had been effected. I must confess freely, yet I ask pardon for the presumption, that I cannot look upon these undertaking Church-men, however otherwise of excellent Prudence and Learning, but as men struck with a Notion, and craz'd on that side of their head. And so I think even the Bishop had much better have busied himself in Preaching in his own Diocese, and disarming the Papists of their Arguments, instead of rebating our Weapons; then in taking an *Oecumenical* care upon him, which none called him to, and, as appears by the sequel, none could him thanks for. But if he were so great a Politician as I have heard, and indeed believe him to have been; me-thinks he should in the first place have contrived how we might live well with our Protestant Neighbours, and to have United us in one Body under the King of *England*, as Head of the

the Protestant Interest, which might have rendred us more considerable, and put us into a more likely posture to have reduced the Church of *Rome* to Reason. For the most leading Party of the *English* Clergy in his time retained such a Pontifical sūfness towards the Foreign Divines, that it puts me in mind of *Austin* the Monk, when he came into *Kent*, not deigning to rise up to the *British* or give them the hand, and could scarce afford their Churches either Communion or Charity, or common civility. So that it is not to be wondered if they also on their parts look'd upon our Models of Accommodation with the same jealousy that the *British* Christians had of *Austin's* Design, to unite them first to (that is, under) the *Saxons*, and then deliver them both over bound to the Papal Government and Ceremonies. But seeing thereby our hands were weakened, and there was no probability of arriving so near the end of the work, as to consent among Protestants abroad; had the Bishop but gone that step, to have reconciled the Ecclesiastical Differences in

our own Nations, and that we might have stood firm at Home before we had taken such a Jump beyond Sea; it would have been a Performance worthy of his Wisdom. For at that time the Ecclesiastical Rigours here were in the highest ferment, and the Church in being arrayed it self against the peaceable Dissenters, only in some points of Worship. And what great Undertaking could we be ripe for abroad, while so divided at Home? Or what fruit expected from the labour of those Mediating Divines in weighty matters, who were not yet past the Sucking-Bottle; but seem'd to place all the Business of Christianity in Persecuting men for their Consciences, differing from them in smaller matters? How Ridiculous must we be to the Church of *Rome* to interpose in her Affairs, and force our Mediation upon her; when, besides our ill correspondence with the Foreign Protestants, she must observe our weakness within our selves, that we could not, or would not step over a straw, though for the perpetual settlement and security of our Church and Nation?

Nation ? She might well look upon us as those that probably might be forced at some time by our folly to call her in to our assistance (for with no Weapons or Arguments but what are fetch'd out of her Arsenals, can the Ceremonial Controversie be rightly defended) but never could she consider us as of such Authority or Wisdom, as to give Balance to her Counsels. But this was far from Bishop *Bramhall's* thoughts; who, so he might (like *Cæsar*) manage the *Roman Empire at its utmost extent*, had quite forgot what would conduce to the Peace of his own Province and Country. For, p. 57. he settles this *Maxime* as a Truth, *That second Reformatiōs are commonly like Metal upon metal, which is false Heraldry.* Where by the way, it is a wonder that our Author in enumerating the Bishop's perfections in Divinity, Law, History, and Philosophy, neglected this peculiar gift he had in Heraldry; and omitted to tell us that his Mind was large enough to have animated the Kingdoms of *Garret* and *Clarencieux*, at their greatest dimensions. But, beside what I have said already in
rela

relation to this Project upon *Rome*, there is this more, which I confess, was below Bishop *Bramhall's* reflexion, and was indeed fit only for some vulgar Politician, or the Commissioners of *Scotland* about the late Union: Whether it would not have succeeded, as in the consolidation of Kingdoms, where the Greatest swallows down the Less; so also in Church-Coalition, that though the Pope had condescended (which the Bishop owns to be his Right) to be only a Patriarch, yet he would have swoop'd up the Patriarchate of *Lambeth* for his Mornings-draught, like an Egg in Muscadine. And then there is another danger always when things come once to a Treaty, that, beside the debates of Reason, there is, a better way of tampering to bring Men over that have a Power to conclude. And so who knows in such a Treaty with *Rome*, if the *Alps* (as it is probable) would not have come over to *England*, as the Bishop designed it, *England* might not have been oblig'd, lying so commodious for Navigation, to undertake a Voyage to *Civita Vecchia*? But what though we should have

have made all the Advantages imaginable, it would have been to no purpose : And nothing less than an intire and total resignation of the Protestant Cause would have contented her. For the Church of *Rome* is so well satisfied of her own sufficiency, and hath so much more wit than we had in Bishop *Bramhall's* dayes, or seem to have yet learn'd, that it would have succeeded just as at the Council of *Trent*. For there, though many Divines of the greatest Sincerity and Learning, endeavour'd a Reformation, yet no more could be obtained of Her than the Nonconformists get of those of the Church of *England* at the Conference of *Worcester House*. But on the contrary, all her Excesses and Errors were further reviv'd and confirmed, and that great Machine of her Ecclesiastical Policy there perfected.

So that this Enterprize of Bishop *Bramhall's*, being so ill laid and so unreasonable, deserves rather an Excuse than a Commendation. And all that can be gathered besides out of our Author concerning him is of little better value ; for he saith indeed, that *he was a zealous and resolute Assertor of the Pub-*

lick Rites and Solemnities of the Church. But those things, being only matters of external Neatness, could never merit the Trophies that our Author erects him. For neither can a Justice of Peace for his severity about Dirt-baskets deserve a Statue. And as for *his expunging some dear and darling Articles from the Protestant Cause*, it is, as far as I can perceive, only his substituting some *Arminian Tenets* (which I name so, not for reproach, but for difference) instead of the *Calvinian Doctrines*. But this too could not challenge all these Triumphant Ornaments in which he instals him: For, I suppose these were but meer mistakes on either side, for want of being (as the Bishop saith, pag. 134.) *Scholastically stated*; and that he, with a distinction of *School-Theologie*, could have smoothed over and plained away these knots though they had been much harder.

For the rest, which he leaves us to seek for, and I meet casually with in the Bishop's own Book; I find him to have been doubtless a very Good-natur'd Gentleman. Pag. 160. *He hath much respect for poor Readers*; and pag. 161. *He judges that if they come short of*

Preachers in point of Efficacy, yet they have the advantage of Preachers as to point of Security. And pag. 163. He commends the care taken by the Canons, that the meanest Cure of Souls should have formal Sermons at least four times every year. Pag. 155. He maintains the Publick Sports on the Lords-day by the Proclamation to that purpose, and the Example of the Reformed Churches beyond Sea: And for the Publick Dances of our Youth upon Country Greens on Sundays, after the Duties of the day, he sees nothing in them but innocent, and agreeable to that under-sort of People. And pag. 117. (which I quoted before) he takes the promiscuous Licence to unqualified persons to read the Scriptures, for more prejudicial, nay more pernicious, than the over-vigorous restraint of the Romanists. And indeed, all along he complies much for Peace-sake, and judiciously shews us wherein our separation from the Church of Rome is not warrantable. But although I cannot warrant any man who hence took occasion to traduce him of Popery, the contrary of which is evident, yet neither is it to be wondred, if he did hereby lie under some imputation,

tation, which he might otherwise have avoided. Neither can I be so hard-hearted as our Author in the Nonconformists case of Discipline, to think it were better that *he, or a hundred more Divines of his temper should suffer, though innocent, in their Reputation, than that we should come under a possibility of losing our Religion.* For as they (the Bishop, and I hope most of the Party) did not intend it so, neither could they have effected it. But he could not expect to enjoy his Imagination without the annoyances incident to such as dwell in the middle story: The Pits from above, and the Smoak from below. And these Churches which are seated nearer upon the Frontire of Popery, did naturally and well if they took alarm at the March. For, in fact, that incomparable Person *Grotius* did yet make a Bridge for the Enemy to come over; or at least laid some of our most considerable Passes open to them and unguarded; a crime something like what the Son *De Groot* (here's Gazette again for you) and his Son-in-law *Membas* have been charged with. And, as to the Bishop himself, his Friend; an Accusatory Spirit

Spirit would desire no better play than he gives in his own Vindication. But that's neither my business nor humour. And whatsoever might have glanced upon him, was directed only to our Author; for publishing that Book, which the Bishop himself had thought fit to conceal, and for his impertinent effluence of Rhetorick upon so mean Topics, in so choice and copious a Subject as Bishop *Bramhall*.

Yet though the Bishop prudently undertook a Design, which he hoped not to accomplish in his own dayes, our Author, however, was something wiser, and hath made sure to obtain his end. For the Bishop's Honour was the furthest thing from his thoughts, and he hath managed that part so, that I have accounted it a work of some Piety to vindicate his Memory from so scurvy a commendation. But the Author's end was only railing. He could never have induc'd himself to praise one man but in order to rail on another. He never Oyls his Hone but that he may whet his Razor; and that not to shave, but to cut mens throats. And however *who* will take the pains to compare, will find,

find, that as it is his only end, so his best, nay his only talent is railing. So that he hath, while he pretends so much for the good Bishop, used him but for a Stalking-Horse, till he might come within shot of the Foreign Divines and the Nonconformists. The other was only a copy of his countenance: But look to your selves, my Masters; for in so venomous a Malice Courtesie is alwayes fatal. Under colour of some mens having taxed the Bishop, he flies out into a furious Debauch, and breaks the Windows, if he could, would raze the foundations of all the Protestant Churches beyond-Sea: But for all men at home of their perswasion, if he meet them in the dark he runs them thorow. He usurps to himself the Authority of the Church of *England*, who is so well bred, that if he would have allowed her to speak, she would doubtless have Treated more civilly those over whom she pretends no Jurisdiction: And under the names of *Germany* and *Geneva*, he rallies and rails at the whole Protestancy of *Europe*. For you are mistaken in our Author (but I have worn him thread-bare) if you think he de-

signs to enter the Lists where he hath
 but one man to combat. Mr. Bayes,
 ye know, prefers that one quality of fight-
ing single with whole Armies before all the
moral Virtues put together. And yet I
 assure you, he hath several times ob-
 liged moral Virtue so highly, that she
 owes him a good turn whensoever she
 can meet him. But it is a brave thing
 to be the Ecclesiastical *Draw Can-Sir*;
 He kills whole Nations, he kills Friend
 and Foe; *Hungary, Transylvania, Bohe-*
mia, Poland, Savoy, France, the Nether-
lands, Denmark, Sweden, and a great
 part of the Church of *England*, and all
Scotland (for these, beside many more,
 he mocks under the title of *Germany*
 and *Geneva*) may perhaps rouse our
 Mastiff, and make up a Danger worthy
 of his Courage. A man would guess
 that this Giant had promised his *Com-*
fortable Importance, a *Simarre* of the
 Beards of all the *Orthodox Theologues* in
 Christendom. But I wonder how he
 comes to be Prolocutor of the Church
 of *England*! For he talks at that rate
 as if he were a *Synedical Individuum*;
 nay if he had a fifth Council in his
 Belly he could not dictate more Dog-
 matically.

matically. There had been indeed, as I have heard, about the dayes of Bishop *Bramhall*, a sort of Divines here of that Leaven, who being dead, I cover their Names, if not for Healths sake, yet for Decency, who never could speak of the first Reformers with any patience; who pruned themselves in the peculiar Virulency of their Pens, and so they might say a tart thing concerning the Forein Churches, cared not what obloquy they cast upon the History or the profession of Religion. And those men undertook likewise to vent their Wit and their Cholar under the style of the Church of *England*; and were indeed so far owned by Her, that what preferments were in her own disposal, she rather conferr'd upon them. And now when they were gone off the Stage, there is risen up this Spiritual Mr. *Bayes*; who having assumed to himself an incogruous plurality of Ecclesiastical Offices, one the most severe, of Penitential-Universal to the Reformed Churches; the other most ridiculous, of Buffoon-General to the Church of *England*, may be henceforth capable of any other promotion. And not be-
ing

ing content to enjoy his own Folly, he has taken two others into Partnership; as fit for his design, as those two that clubb'd with *Mahomet* in making the *Alchoran*: Who by a perverse Wit and Representation might travestier the Scripture, and render all the careful and serious part of Religion odious and contemptible. But, lest I might be mistaken as to the Persons I mention, I will assure the Reader that I intend not *Huddibras*: For he is a man of the other Robe, and his excellent Wit hath taken a flight far above these Whiflers: That whoever dislikes the choice of his Subject, cannot but commend his performance, and calculate if on so barren a Theme he were so copious, what admirable sport he would have made with an Ecclesiastical Politician. But for a *Daw Divine* not only to foul his own Nest in *England*, but to pull in pieces the Nests of those beyond-Sea, 'tis that which I think undecent and of very ill example. There is not indeed much danger, his Book, his Letter, and his Preface being write in English, that they should pass abroad: But, if they be Printed upon incombustible Paper, or by

by reason of the many Avocations of our Church they may escape a Censure, yet 'tis likely they may die at Home the common fate of such Treatises amongst the most judicious Oylmen and Grocers. Unless Mr. Bayes be so far in love with his own Whelp, that, as a Modern Lady, he will be at the charge of Translating his Works into *Latin*, transmitting them to the Universities, and Dedicating them in the *Vatican*. But, should they unhappily get Vent abroad (as I hear some are already sent over for curiosity) what Scandal, what Heart-burning and Animosity must it raise against our Church? Unless they chance to take it right at first, and limit the Provocation within the Author. And then, what can he expect in return of his Civility, but that the Complement which passed betwixt *Arminius* and *Baudius* should center upon him, that he is both *Opprobrium Academiae*, and *Pestis Ecclesiae*. For they will see at the first that his Books come not out under Publick Authority, or Recommendation: but only as things of Buffoonery do commonly, they carry with them their own *Imprimatur*.

(but I hope he hath considered Mr. L. in private, and payed his Fees.) Neither will the Gravity therefore of their Judgments take the measures, I hope, either of the Education at our Universities, or of the Spirit of our Divines, or of the Prudence, Piety, and Doctrine of the Church of *England*, from such an Interloper. Those Gardens of ours use to bear much better Fruit: There may happen sometimes an ill Year, or there may be such a Crab-stock as cannot by all Ingrafting be corrected. But generally it proves otherwise. Once perhaps in a hundred years there may arise such a Prodigy in the University (where all Men else learn better Arts and better Manners) and from thence may creep into the Church (where the Teachers at least ought to be well instructed in the knowledge and practice of Christianity) so prodigious a Person I say may even there be hatch'd, as shall neither know or care how to behave himself to God or Man; and who having never seen the receptacle of Grace or Conscience at an Anatomical Dissection, may conclude therefore that there is no such matter, or no such obligation.

ligation among Christians; who shall
 persecute the Scripture it self, unless it
 will conform to his Interpretation;
 who shall strive to put the World into
 Blood, and animate Princes to be the
Executioners of their own Subjects for
well-doing. All this is possible; but
 comes to pass as rarely and at as long
 periods in our Climate, as the birth of
 a false Prophet. But unluckily, in this
 fatal Year of Seventy Two, among all
 the Calamities that Astrologers fore-
 tel, this also hath befallen us. I would
 not hereby confirm his Vanity, as if I
 also believed that any Scheme of Hea-
 ven did influence his actions, or that he
 were so considerable as that the Comet
 under which they say we yet labour
 had foreboded the appearance of his
 Preface. No, no: Though he be a crea-
 ture most noxious, yet he is more de-
 spicable. A Comet is of far higher
 quality, and hath other kind of imploy-
 ment. Although we call it an Hairy-
 Star, it affords no prognostick of what
breeds there: But the Astrologer that
 would discern our Author and his Bu-
 siness, must lay by his Telescope, and
use a Microscope. You may find him

still in Mr. *Calvin's* head. Poor Mr. *Calvin* and Bishop *Bramhal*, what crime did you dye guilty of, that you cannot dye quiet in your Graves, but must be conjured up on the Stage as oft as Mr. *Bayes* will ferret you ? And which of you two are most unfortunate I cannot determine ? whether the Bishop in being alwaies courted, or the Presbyter in being alwaies rail'd at. But in good earnest I think Mr. *Calvin* hath the better of it. For, though an ill man cannot by praising confer honour, nor by reproaching fix an ignominy, and so they may seem on equal terms ? yet there is more in it : for at the same time that we may imagine what is said by such an Author to be false, we conceive the contrary to be true. What ease faith of him indeed in this place did not come very well in : for *Calvin* writ nothing against Bishop *Bramhal*, and therefore here it amounts to no more than that his Spirit forsooth had propagated an original *Waspsishness* and false *Orthodoxy* amongst all his Followers. But if you look in other pages of his Book, and particularly pag. 663 of

his Defence, you never saw such a Scarecrow as he makes him. There sprang up a mighty Bramble on the South side the Lake Lemane, that (such is the rankness of the soil) spread and flourished with such a sudden growth, that partly by the industry of his Agents abroad, and partly by its own indefatigable pains and pragmaticalness it quite over-ran the whole Reformation. You must conceive that Mr. Bayes was all this while in an Extasy in Dodona's Grove; or else here is strange work worse than explicating a Post, or examining a Pillar. A Bramble that had Agents abroad, & it self an indefatigable Bramble. But straight our Bramble transformed to a Man, and he makes a Chair of Infallibility for himself, out of his own Bramble Timber. Yet all this while we know not his Name. One would suspect it might be a Bp Bramble. But then he made himself both Pope & Emperor too of the greatest part of the Reformed World. How near does this come to his Commendation of Bishop Bramhall before? For our Author seems copious, but is indeed very poor of Expression; and, as smiling and frowning

are performed in the face with the same muscles very little altered; so the changing of a line or two in Mr. Bayes at any time, will make the same thing serve for a Panegyrick or a Philippick. But what do you think of this Man? Could Mistress *Mopsa* her self have furnished you with a more pleasant and worshipful Tale? It wants nothing of perfection; but that it doth not begin with *Once upon a time*? Which Master Bayes, according to his Accuracy, if he had thought on't, would never have omitted. Yet some Critical People, who will exact Truth in Falshood, and tax up an old-wife's fable to the punctuality of History, were blaming him t'other day for placing this Bramble on the South-side of the *Lake Lemane*. I said, it was well and wisely done that he chose a South Sun for the better and more sudden growth of such a Fruit-tree. Ay, said they, but he means *Calvin* by the Bramble; and the rank foil on the South side the *Lake Lemane* is the City of *Geneva*, situate (as he would have it) on the South side of that Lake

Now it is strange that he, having travell'd so well, should not have observ'd that the Lake lies East and West, and that *Geneva* is built at the West end of it. Pish, said I, that's no such great matter, and, as Mr. *Bayes* hath it upon another occasion, *Whether it be so or no the fortunes of Caesar and the Roman Empire are not concerned in it.* One of the Company would not let that pass, but told us if we look'd in *Caesar's Commentaries*, we should find their fortunes were concern'd, for it was the *Helvetian Passage*, and many mistakes might have risen in the marching of the Army. Why then, replied I again *Whether it be East, West, North, or South*, there is neither *Vice* nor *Idolatry* in it, and the Ecclesiastical Politician may command you to believe it, and you are bound to *acquiesce* in his Judgment, whatsoever may be your private Opinion. Another, to continue the mirth, answered, That yet there might be some Religious Consideration in building a Town East and West, or North and South, and 'twas not a thing

so indifferent as men thought it: but because in the Church of *England*, where the Table is set Altar-wise, the Minister is nevertheless obliged to stand at the North-side (though it be the North-end of the Table) it was fit to place the *Geneva* Presbyter in diametrical-opposition to him upon the *South-side of the Lake*. But this we all took for a cold conceit, and not enough matured. I, that was still upon the doubtful and excusing part, said, That to give the right situation of a Town, it was necessary first to know in what position the Gentleman's head then was when he made his Observation, and that might cause a great diversity, as much as this came to. Yes, replied my next Neighbour: or, perhaps some roguish Boy that managed the Puppets, turned the City wrong, and so disoccidented our Geographer. It was grown almost as good as a play among us: and at last they all concluded that *Geneva* had sold Mr. Bayes a Bargain, as the *Moon* serv'd the *Earth* in the *Rehearsal*, and in good sooth had turn'd her breach on him.

But this, I doubt not, *Mr. Bayes* will bring himself off with Honour : but that which sticks with me is, that our Author having undertaken to make *Calvin* and *Geneva* ridicule, hath not pursued it to so high a point as the Subject would have afforded. First, he might have taken the name of the beast *Calvinus*, and of that have given the Anagram, *Lucianus*. Next, I would have turn'd him inside outward, and have made him *Ufinulca*. That was a good Hobgoblin name to have frightened Children with. Then he should have been a *Bramble* still, ay, an *indefatigable Bramble* too, but after that he should have continued (for in such a Book a passage in a Play is clear gain, and a great loss if omitted) and upon that *Bramble Reasons* grew as plentiful as *Black-berries*, but both unwholesome, and they stain'd all the *white Aprons* so, that there was no getting of it out. And then, to make a fuller description of the place, he should have added; That near to the City of *roaring Lyons* there was a Lake, and that Lake was

all

all of Brimstone, but stored with overgrown Trouts, which Trouts spawned *Presbyterians*, and those spawned the *Millegantons* of all other Fanaticks. That this Shoal of *Presbyterians* landed at *Geneva* and devoured all the Bishop of *Geneva's* Capons, which are of the greatest size of any in the Reformed World. And ever since their mouths have been so in relish that the *Presbyterians* are in all parts the very *Canibals* of Capons? in so much that if Princes do not take care, the race of Capons is in danger to be totally extinguished. But that the River *Rhofne* was so sober and intelligent, that its Waters would not mix with this *Lake perillous*, but ran sheere thorow without ever touching it: nay, such is its apprehension lest the Lake should overtake it, that the River dives it self under ground till the Lake hath lost the scent: and yet when it rises again imagining that the Lake is still at its heels, it runs on so impetuously that it chuseth rather to pass through the *roaring Lions*, and never thinks it self safe

till it hath taken sanctuary at the popes
 Town of *Avinion*. He might too have
 proved that *Calvin* made himself Pope
 and Emperour, because the City of *Ge-*
neva stamps upon its Coyn the two-
 headed Imperial Eagle. And, to have
 given us the utmost Terror, he might
 have considered the Alliance and Vici-
 nity of *Geneva* to the Canton of *Bern*,
 the Arms of which City is the Bear,
 (and an Argument in Heraldry, even
 Bishop *Bramhal* himself being Judge,
 might have also held in Divinity) and
 therefore they keep under the Town-
 house constantly a whole den of Bears.
 So that there was never a more dange-
 rous situation, nor any thing so care-
 fully to be avoided by all Travellers in
 their wits, as *Geneva*: the *Lions* on one
 side, and the *Bears* on the other. This
 Story would have been Nuts to Mo-
 ther Midnight, and was fit to have been
 imbellished with Mr. *Bayes* his Allego-
 rical Eloquence. And all that he saith
 either by fits and girds of *Calvin*, or in
 his justest Narratives, hath less founda-
 tion in Nature: and is indeed twice

incredible, first in the matter related, and then because Mr. *Bayes* it comes from : or, to express it shorter, because of the Tale and the Tales-man. He is not yet come to that Authority but that his Dogmatical *Ipse Dixit* may rather be a reason why we should not believe him. If Mr. *Bayes* will speak of Controversie ; let him enter into a regular Disputation concerning these *Calvinian* Tenets, and not write an History. Or, if he will give us the History of *Calvin*, let him at the same time produce his Authors. And whether History or Controversie, let him be pleas'd so long to abate of the exuberancy of his Fancy and Wit ; to dispense with his Ornaments and superfluencies of Invention and Satyre ; and then a man may consider whether he may believe his Story, and submit to his Argument. But in the mean time (for all he pleads in pag. 97. of his *Defence*) it looks all so like subterfuge and inveigling ; it is so nauseating and tedious a task, that no man thinks he owes the Author so much service as to

find out the reason of his own *Categoricalness* for him. One may beat the Bush a whole day; but after so much labour shall, for all game, only spring a Butterfly, or start an Hedghog. Infomuch that I am ever and anon disputing with my self whether Mr. Bayes be indeed so ill-natured a person as some would have him, and do not rather innocently write things (as he professes pag. 4. of his *Preface*) so *exceeding* all belief, that he may make himself and the company merry. I sometimes could think that he intends no harm either to Publick or Private, but only rails contentedly to himself and his Muses: That he seeks onely his own diversion, and chargeth his Gun with Wind but to shoot at the Air. Or that, like Boyes, so he may make a great Paper-Kite of his own *Letter* of 850 pages, & his *Preface* of an hundred, he hath no further design upon the Poultry of the Village. But he takes care that I shall never be long deceiv'd with that pleasing imagination: and though his Hyperboles and Impossibilities can have only a ridiculous

diculous effect, he will be sure to manifest that he had a felonious intention. He would take it ill if we should not value him as an Enemy of Mankind: and like a raging *Indian* (for in *Europe* it was never before practised) he runs a *Mucke* (as they call it there) stabbing every man he meets, till himself be knockt on the head. This here is the least pernicious of all his mischiefs: though it be no lesse in this & all his other Books than to make the *German Protestancy* a reproachful Proverb, and to turn *Geneva* and *Calvin* into a Common-Place of Railing. I had alwayes heard that *Calvin* was a good Scholar, and an honest Divine. I have indeed read that he spoke something contemptuously of our Liturgy: *Sunt in illo Libro quaedam tolerabiles ineptiae*. But that was a sin which we may charitably suppose he repented of on his death-bed. And if *Mr. Bayes* had some just quarrel to him on that or other account; yet for *Divinity's sake* he needed not thus have made a constant Pissing-place of his Grave. And as for *Geneva* I never per-

perceived before but that it was a very laudable City, that there grew an excellent Grape on the South-side of the Lake *Lemane*, that a man might make good chear there, and there was a *Pall-mall*, and one might shoot with the *Arbalest*, or play at *Court-boule* on Sundayes. What was here to inrage our Author so that he must raze the Fort of *St. Katherine*, and attempt with the same success a second *Escalade*? But the difficulty of the Enterprize doubtless provoked his courage, and the honour he might win made the justice of his Quarrel. He knew that not only the Common-wealth of *Switzerland*, but the King of *France*, the King of *Spain*, and the Duke of *Savoy* would enter the lists for the common preservation of the place: and therefore though it be otherwise but a petty Town, he disdained not where the Race was to be run by Monarchs, to exercise his footmanship. But is it not a great pity to see a man in the flower of his age, and the vigor of his studies, to fall into such a distraction, That his head

runs

runs upon nothing but Romane Empire and Ecclesiastical Policy? This happens by his growing too early acquainted with *Don Quixot*, and reading the Bible too late: so that the first impressions being most strong, and mixing with the last, as more novel, have made such a medly in his brain-pan that he is become a mad Priest, which of all the sorts is the most incurable? Hence it is that you shall hear him anon instructing Princes, like *Sancho*, how to govern his *Island*: as he is busied at present in vanquishing the *Calvinists* of *Germany* and *Geneva*. Had he no Friends to have given him good counsel before his Understanding were quite unsettled: or if there were none near, why did not men call in the neighbours and send for the Parson of the Parish to perswade with him in time, but let it run on thus till he is fit for nothing but *Bedlam*, or *Hogsdon*? However though it be a particular damage, it may tend to a general advantage: and young students will I hope by his example learn to beware hence-
forward.

forward of overweening Prèsumption and preposterous Ambition. For this Gentleman, as I have heard, after he had read *Don Quixot* and the Bible, besides such School-Books as were [necessary for his age, was sent early to the University: and there studied hard, and in a short time became a competent Rhetorician, and no ill Disputant. He had learnt how to erect a *Thesis*, and to defend it *Pro* or *Con* with a serviceable distinction: while the Truth (as his Camarade Mr. Bayes hath it on another occasion,

Before a full Pot of Ale you can swallow,

Was here with a Whoop and gone with a Hollow.

And so thinking himself now ripe and qualified for the greatest Undertakings, and highest Fortune, he therefore exchanged the narrowness of the University for the Town? But coming out of the confinement of the Square-cap and the Quadrangle into the open Air, the

the World began to turn round with him : which he imagined ; though it were his own giddiness, to be nothing less then the *Quadrature of the Circle*. This accident concurring so happily to increase the good opinion which he naturally had of himself, he thenceforward apply'd to gain a like reputation with others. He follow'd the Town life, haunted the best companies ; and , to polish himself from any Pedantick roughness , he read and saw the Playes , with much care and more proficiency than most of the Auditory. But all this while he forgot not the main chance, but hearing of a vacancy with a Noble man, he clapp'd in , and easily obtained to be his Chaplain. From that day you may take the date of his Preferments and his Ruine. For having soon wrought himself dexterously into his Patrons favour, by short Graces and Sermons, and a mimical way of drolling upon the *Puritans*, which he knew would take both at Chappel and Table ; he gained a great Authority likewise among all the domesticks,

mesticks. They all listned to him as an Oracle : and they allow'd him by common consent, to have not only all the *Divinty*, but more wit too than all the rest of the family put together. This thing alone elevated him exceedingly in his own conceit, and raised his *Hypocondria* into the Region of the Brain : that his head swell'd like any Bladder with wind and vapour. But after he was stretch'd to such an height in his own fancy, that he could not look down from top to toe but his Eyes dazled at the Precipice of his Stature ; there fell out, or in, another natural chance which push'd him headlong. For being of an amorous Complexion, and finding himself (as I told you) the *Cock-Divine* and the *Cock-Wit* of the Family, he took the priviledge to walk among the Hens : and thought it was not impolitick to establish his new-acquired Reputation upon the Gentle-womens side. And they that perceived he was a Rising-Man, and of pleasant Conversation, dividing his Day among them into Canonical hours, of reading

now

now the Common-Prayer ; and now the Romances ; were very much taken with him. The Sympathy of Silk began to stir and attract the Tippet to the Petticoat, and the Petticoat toward the Tippet. The Innocent Ladies found a strange unquietness in their minds ; and could not distinguish whether it were Love or Devotion. Neither was he wanting on his part to carry on the Work ; but shifted himself every day with a clean Surplice, and, as oft as he had occasion to bow , he directed his Reverence towards the Gentlewomens Pew. Till , having before had enough of the Libertine , and undertaken his Calling only for Preferment ; he was transported now with the Sanctity of his Office, even to extasie : and like the Bishop over *Maudlin Collidge* Altar, or like *Maudlin de la Croix* ; he was seen in his Prayers to be lifted up sometimes in the Air, and once particularly so high that he crack'd his Scul against the Chappel Ceiling. I do not hear for all this that he had ever practised upon the Honour of the Ladies , but
that

that he preserved always the Civility of a *Platonick Knight-Errant*. For all this Courtship had no other operation than to make him still more in love with himself : and if he frequented their company, it was only to speculate his own Baby in their Eyes. But being thus, without Competitor or Rival, the Darling of both Sexes in the Family and his own Minion ; he grew beyond all measure elevated, and that crack of his Skull, as in broken Looking-Glasses, multipli'd him in self-conceit and imagination.

Having fixed his Center in this Nobleman's House, he thought he could now move and govern the whole Earth with the same facility. Nothing now would serve him but he must be a mad-man in Print, and Write a Book of *Ecclesiastical Policy*. There he distributes all the *Territories of Conscience* into the Princes Province, and makes the *Hierarchy* to be but Bishops of the Air ; and talks at such an extravagant rate in things of higher concernment, that the Reader will avow that in the whole dis-

discourse he had not one *lucid interval*. This Book he was so bent upon, that he sat up late at nights, and waiting sleep, and drinking sometimes Wine to animate his Fancy, so it increased his Distemper. Beside that too he had the misfortune to have two Friends, who being both also out of their wits, and of the same, though something a calmer phrensie, spurr'd him on perpetually with commendation. But when his Book was once come out, and he saw himself an Author; that some of the Gallants of the Town lay'd by the new *Fad*, and the *Tay, tay, tarry*, to quote some of his impertinencies; that his Title Page was posted and pasted up at every avenue next under the Play for that afternoon at the Kings or the Dukes House: the Vain-Glory of this totally confounded him. He lost all the little remains of his understanding, and his *Cerebellum* was so dried up that there was more brains in a Walnut, and both their Shells were alike thin and brittle. The King of *France* that lost his wits, had not near so many unlucky

unlucky circumstances to occasion it: and in the last of all there is some Similitude. For, as a negligent Page that rode behind and carried the Kings Lance, let it fall on his head, the King being in Armour, and the day hot, which so disordered him that he never recovered it: so this Gentleman, in the Dog-days, stragling by *Temple-bar*, in a massy Cassock and Surcingle, and taking the opportunity at once to piss and admire the Title-page of his Book, a tall Servant of his, one *J. O.* that was not so careful as he should be, or whether he did it of purpose, lets another Book of four hundred leaves fall upon his head; which meeting with the former fracture in his *Cranium*, and all the concurrent Accidents already mentioned, has utterly undone him. And so in conclusion his madness hath formed it self into a perfect *Lycanthropy*. He doth so verily believe himself to be a Wolf, that his speech is all turn'd into howling, yelling, and barking: and if there were any Sheep here, you should see him pull out their throats and suck the

the blood. Alas, that a sweet Gentleman, and so hopeful, should miscarry! For want of Cattel here, you find him raving now against all the *Calvinists of England*, and worrying the whole Flock of them. For how can they hope to escape his chaps and his paws better than those of *Germany* and *Geneva*; of which he is so hnnngry, that he hath scratch'd up even their dead bodies out of their Graves to prey upon: And yet this is nothing if you saw him in the height of his fits: but he hath so beaten and spent himself before, that he is out of breath at present; and though you may discover the same fury, yet it wants of the same vigor. But however you see enough of him, my Masters, to make you beware, I hope, of valuing too high, and trusting too far to your own Abilities.

It were a wild thing for me to *Squire* it after this *Knight*, and accompany him here through all his Extravagancies against our *Calvinists*. You find nothing but *Orthodoxy*, *Systems*, and *Syntagms*, *Polemical Theology*, *Subtilties* and

and *Distinctions*. *Demosthenes*; *Tankard* bearers; *Pragmatical*; *Controversial*. General terms without foundation or reason assigned. That they seem like words of *Cabal*, & have no significance till they be decipher'd. Or, you would think he were playing at *Substantives* and *Adjectives*. All that rationally can be gathered from what he saith, is, that the Man is mad. But if you would supply his meaning with your imagination, as if he spoke sense, and to some determinate purpose; it is very strange that conceiving himself to be the Champion of the Church of *England*, he should bid such a general defiance to the *Calvinists*. For, he knows, or perhaps I may better say he did know before this Phrensie had subverted both his Understanding and Memory, that most of our ancient, and many of the later Bishops nearer our times, did both hold and maintain those Doctrines which he traduces under that by word. And the contrary Opinions were even in Bishop *Prideaux's* time accounted so novel, that, being then publique profes-

for

for of *Divinity*, he thought fit to tax Doctor *Heylin* at the Commencement for his new-fangled Devinity : *Cujus*, saith he, in the very words of promotion, *te Doctorem creo*.

He knew likewise that of our present Bishops, though one had leisure formerly to write a *Rationale* of the *Ceremonies* and *Liturgie*, and another a Treatise of the *Holiness of Lent*; yet that most of them, and 'tis to be supposed all, have studied other Controversies, and at another rate than Mr. *Bayes* his Lead can Fathom. And as I know none of them that hath published any Treatise against the *Calvinian* tenets, so I have the Honour to be acquainted with some of them who are intirely of that judgement, and differ nothing but, as of good reason, in the point of *Episcopacy*. And as for that, Bishop *Bramhal* page 61. hath proved that *Calvin* himself was of the *Episcopal* perswasion. So that I see no reason why Mr. *Bayes* should here and every where be such an enemy to *Controversial skill*, or the *Calvinists*. But I per-

perceive 'tis for Bishop *Bramhall's* sake here that all the Tribe must suffer. This *Bayes* is not a good Dog : for he runs at a whole flock of Sheep, when Mr. B. was the Deer whom he had in view from the begining. However, having foil'd himself so long with every thing he meets, after him now he goes, and will never leave till he hath run him down. Poor Mr. B. I find that when he was a Boy he pluck'd Bishop *Bramhall's* Sloes, and eat his *Bullice*; and now, when he is as superannuated as the Bishop's Book, he must be whipp'd for't, there is no remedy. And yet I have heard, and Mr. *Bayes* himself seems to intimate as much, that how-ever he might in his younger years have mistaken, yet that even as early as Bishop *Bramhall's* Discourse, he began to retract: and that as for all his sins against the Church of *England*, he hath in some late Treatises cryed *Peccavi* with a Witness. But, Mr. *Bayes*, doth not this now look like *Sorcery* and *Extortion*, which of all crimes you purge your self from so often without an Accuser? For

first;

first; whereas the old Bishop was at rest; and had under his last Pillow laid by all cares and contests of this lower World; you by your *Necromancy* have disturb'd him; and rais'd his Ghost to persecute & haunt Mr. B. whom doubtlesse at his death he had pardoned. But if you called him up to ask some questions too concerning your Ecclesiastical Policy, as I am apt to suppose, I doubt you had no better Answer than in the Song:

*Art thou forlorn of God, and com'st to me?
What can I tell thee then but misery?*

And then, as for Extortion; who but such an *Hebrew Jew* as you, would, after an honest man had made so full and voluntary restitution, not yet have been satisfied without so many pounds of his flesh over into the bargain: Though J. O. be in a desperate condition, yet methinks Mr. B. not being past Grace, should not neither have been past Mercy. Are there no terms of Pardon, Mr. *Reverend*? is there no time for Expiation? But, after so ample a Confession as he

E hath

hath made, must he now be hang'd too to make good the Proverb? it puts me in mind of a Story in the time of the *Guelphs* and *Ghibilines*, whom I perceive Mr. Bayes hath heard of: They were two Factions in *Italy* of which the *Guelphs* were for the Pope, and the *Ghibilines* for the Emperour; and these were for many years carried on and fomented with much animosity, to the great disturbance of Christendom: which of these two were the *Nonconformists* in those dayes I can no more determine, than which of our Parties here at home is now *schismatical*. But so nonconformable they were to one another, that the Historian said they took care to differ in the least circumstances of any humane action: and, as those that have the *Masons Word*, secretly discern one another: so in the peeling or cutting but of an Onion, a *Guelph* and *vice versa* would at first sight have distinguish'd a *Ghibiline*. Now one of this latter sort coming at *Rome* to Confession upon *Asph Wednesday*, the Pope or the Penitentiary sprinkling Ashes on the Man's head with

with the usual ceremony, instead of pronouncing *Memento homo quod Cinis es & in Cinerem reverteris*, changed it to *Memento homo quod Ghibilinas es, &c.* And even thus it fares with Mr. B. who though he should creep on his knees up the whole Stairs of *Scholastick Penitence*, I am confident neither he, nor any of his Party, shall by Mr. Bayes his good will ever be absolved. And therefore truly if I were in Mr. B's case, if I could not have my Confession back again, yet it should be a warning unto me not without better grounds to be so coming and so good-natured for the future. But whatever he do, I hope others will consider what usage they are like to find at Mr. Bayes hand, and not suffer themselves by the touch of his *Penitential Rod* to be transformed into Beasts, even into *Rats*, as here he hath done with Mr. B. I have indeed wondered often at this Bayes his insolence, who summons-in all the World, and preacheth up only this *Repentance*: and so frequently in his Books he calls for *Testimonies, Signal Marks, Publick Ac-*

knowledge, Satisfaction, Revantation,
 and I know not what. He that hath
 made the passage to Heaven so ealie
 that one may fly thither without Grace
 (as *Gonzales* to the Moon only by the
 help of his *Gansa's*) he that hath *disin-*
tricated its narrow paths from those
Labyrinths which *J. O.* and *Mr. B.* have
 planted; this Overseer of God's High-
 wayes (if I may with reverence speak
 it) who hath paved a broad Causeway
 with Moral Virtue thorow his King-
 dom; he me-thinks should not have
 made the *process of Loyalty* more diffi-
 cult than that of *Salvation*. What
Signal Marks, what *Testimonies* would
 he have of this Conversion? Every
 man cannot, as he hath done, write an
Ecclesiastical Policy, a Defence a Preface:
 and some, if they could, would not do
 it after his manner; lest in stead of ob-
 liging thereby the King & the Church,
 it should be a Testimony to the con-
 trary. Neither, unless men have bet-
 ter Principles of Allegiance at home,
 are they likely to be reduced by *Mr.*
Bayes his way of perswasion. He is the
 first

first Minister of the Gospel that ever had it in his Commission to rail at all Nations. And, though it hath been long practised, I never observed any great successe by reviling men into Conformity. I have heard that *Charms* may even invite the Moon out of Heaven, but I never could see her moved by the *Rhetorick* of barking. I think it ought to be highly penal for any man to impose other conditions upon his Majesties good Subjects than the King expects, or the Law requires. When you have done all, you must yet appear before Mr. *Bayes* his Tribunal, and he hath a new Test yet to put you to. I must confesse at this rate the *Nonconformists* deserve some Compassion: that after they have done or suffered legally and to the utmost, they must still be subjected to the Wand of a *Verger*, or to the wanton lash of every *Pedant*; that they must run the *Ganteloop*, or down with their breeches as oft as he wants the prospect of a more pleasing *Nudity*. But I think they may chuse whether they will submit or no to his

Jurisdiction. Let them but (as I hope they do) fear God, honour the King, preserve their Consciences; follow their Trades, and look to their Chimnies; and they need not fear Mr. Bayes and all his Malice. But after he hath sufficiently insulted over Mr. B's ignorance and vanity, with other Complements of the like nature, in recompence of that candor and civility which he acknowledges him to have now learnt towards the Church of England. Mr Bayes (forgetting what had past long since betwixt him and the Bookseller) saith, in excuse of his severity, that *this Treatise was not published to impart Mr. B's esteem in the least, but for a correction of his scribbling humour, and to warn their Rat-Divines that are perpetuall nibbling and gnawing other Mens Writings.* Now I must confesse Mr. Bayes this is a very handsom Welcome to Mr. B. that was come so far to see you, and doubtlesse upon this encouragement he will visit you often. This is an admirable dexterity our Author hath (I wish I could learn it) *to correct a man's scribbling hu-*

mour without impairing in the least his reputation. He is as courteous as Lightning, and can melt the Sword without ever hurting the Scabbard. But as for their *Rat-Divines*, I wonder they are not all poysoned with nibling at his Writings, he hath strewed so much *Arsenick* in every leaf. But however, methinks he should not have grudged them so slender a sustenance. For though there was a Sow in *Arcadia* so fat and insensible that she suffered a Rats nest in her buttock, and they had both Dyet and Lodging in the same Gammon; yet it is not every *Rats* good fortune to be so well provided. And for *Pushpin-Divinity*, I confess it is a new term of Art, and I shall henceforward take notice of it, but I am afraid in general it doth not tend much to the reputation of the Faculty.

And now, though he told us at the beginning, that the Bookseller was the main reason of publishing this Book of the Bishop and his own Preface, he tells us that the main reason of its publication was to give some check to their pre-

sent disingenuity, that is to say to that
of J. O. And J. O. be it at present. He
is come so much nearer however to the
Truth, though we shall find ere we have
done that there is still a mainer reason,

When I first took notice of this mis-
understanding betwixt Mr. Bayes and
J. O. I considered whether it were not
Execution-day with the whole *Latine*
Alphabet: whether all the Letters were
not to suffer in the same manner, except
C only, which (having been the mark
of Condemnation) might have a pardon
to serve for the Executioner. I began
to repent of my Undertaking, being a-
fraid that the Quarrel was with the
whole *Cris-croft-Row*, and that we must
fight it out through all the Squadrons
of the *Vowels*, the *Acutes*, the *Semi-vow-*
els, and the *Liquids*. I foresaw a sore
and endlesse labour, and a battel the
longest that ever was read of; being
probable to continue as long as one Let-
ter was left alive, or there were any
use of Reading. Therefore, to spare
mine own pains, and prevent *Ink-Bled*,
I was advising the Letters to go before

Mr.

Mr. *Bates*, or any other his Majesties Justices of Peace, to swear that they were in danger of their Lives, and desire that Mr. *Bates* might be bound to the *Good-behaviour*. But after this I had another Phancy, and that not altogether unreasonable; that Mr. *Bates* had, onely for health and exercise-sake, drawn γ . α by chance out of the number of the rest, to try how he could rail at a Letter, and that he might be well in breath upon any occasion of greater consequence. For, how perfect soever a man may have been in any Science, yet without continual practice he will find a sensible decay of his faculty. Hence also, and upon the same natural ground, it is the wisdom of Cats to whet their Claws against the Chairs and Hangings, in meditation of the next *Rat* they are to encounter. And I am confident that Mr. *Bates* by this way hath brought himself into, so good railing case, that pick what Letter you will out of the Alphabet, he is able to write an Epistle upon it of 723 pages (I have now told them right) to

the Author of the *Friendly Debates*.

Now though this had very much of probability, I had yet a further Conjecture; that this 7. O. was a *Talisman* H
 signed under some peculiar Influence of the heavenly bodies; and that the Fate of Mr. Bayes was bound up within it. Whether it be so or no I know not: but this I am assured of, without the help either of *Syderal Magick* or *Judicial Astrologie*, that when 7 and O are in Conjunction they do more certainly than any of the Planets forebode that a great Ecclesiastical Politician shall that Year run mad. I confesse after all this, when I was come to the dregs of my phantasie (for we all have our infirmities, and Mr. Bayes his *Defence* was but the *blew-John* of his *Ecclesiastical Policy*, and this *Preface* the Tap-droppings of his *Defence*) I reflected whether Mr. Bayes having no particular cause of indignation against the Letters, there might not have been a mistake of the Printer, and that they were to be read in one word To that uses to go before *Poem*: that is in English a Triumph before the Victory,

story. Or whether it alluded to *Jo* that
 we read of at School, the Daughter of
Inachus: and that as *Juno* persecuted the
 Heifer, so this was an *He-Cow*, that
 is to say a *Bull* to be baited by Mr. *Bayes*
 the *Thunderer*. But these being Con-
 ceits too trivial, though a *Ragoust* fit
 enough for Mr. *Bayes* his Palate, I was
 forced moreover to quit them, remark-
 ing that it was an *ʒ* Consonant. And
 I plainly at last perceive that this *ʒ. O.*
 was a very Man as any of us are,
 and had a Head and a Mouth with
 Tongue and Teeth in it, and Hands
 with Fingers and Nails upon them:
 nay, that he could read and write, and
 speak as well as I or Mr. *Bayes*, either
 of us. When I once found this, the
 business appear'd more serious, and I
 was willing to see what was the mat-
 ter that so much exasperated Mr. *Bays*,
 who is a Person, as he saith himself, of
 such a tame and softly humour, and so cold
 a complexion, that he thinks himself scarce-
 capable of hot and passionate impressions.
 I concluded that necessarily there must
 be some extraordinary Accident and
 Occasion

Occasion that could alter so good a Nature. For I saw that he pursued *O.* if not from *Past to Present*, yet from *Pillar to Post*; and I discerned all along the footsteps of a most inveterate and implacable Malice. As oft as he does but name those two first Letters, he is like the Island of *Fayal*, on fire in three score and ten places.

You see, Mr. Bayes, that I too have improved my wit with reading the *Gazettes*. Were you of that Fellows diet here about Town, that epicurizes upon burning Coals; drinks healths in scalding Brimstone; scraunches the Glasses for his *Desart*; and draws his breath through glowing Tobacco-pipes. Nay, to say a thing yet greater; had you never tasted other sustenance than the Fucus of burning Glasses, you could not shew more flame than you do alwayes upon that Subject. And yet one would think that even from the *little spots*, with your comfortable importance, after Supper, you should have learnt when *J. O.* came into play, to love your *Love* with an *J*, because he is *Judicious*, though

though you hate your Love with an *I*,
 because he is jealous; and then to love
 your Love with an *O*, because he is Or-
 gulous, though you hate your Love with
 an *O*, because he is Obscure: Is it not
 strange, that in those most benign mi-
 nutes of a Man's life, when the Stars
 smile, the Birds sing, the Winds whis-
 per, the Fountains warble, the Trees
 blossom, and universal Nature seems
 to invite it self to the *Bridal*: When
 the Lion pulls in his Claws, and the
 Aspick layes by its Poyson, and all
 the most noxious Creatures grow amo-
 rously innocent: that even then, Mr.
Bayes alone should not be able to re-
 frain his Malignity: As you love
 your self, *Madam*, let him not come
 near you. He hath been fed all his
 life with Vipers instead of Lampreys,
 and Scorpions for Crayfish: and if at
 any time he eat Chickens they had
 been cramb with Spiders, till he hath
 so inveniomed his whole substance, that
 'tis much safer to bed with a Mount-
 bank before he hath taken his Anti-
 dote. But it cannot be any vulgar fur-
 nace

nace that hath chafed so cool a Salamander. 'Tis not the strewing of *Cowitch* in his *Genial-bed* that could thus disquiet him the first night. And therefore let's take the Candle and see whether there be not some body underneath that hath cut the *Bed-Cords*. There was a worthy Divine, not many years dead, who in his younger time being of a facetious and unlucky humour, was commonly known by the name of *Tom Triplet*. He was brought up at *Pauls School*, under a severe Master, *Dr. Gill*, and from thence he went to the University. There he took liberty (as 'tis usual with those that are emancipated from School) to tell tales, and make the Discipline ridiculous under which he was bred. But, not suspecting the Doctors intelligence, coming once to Town, he went in full School to give him a Visit, and expected no less than to get a *Play-day* for his former acquaintance. But, instead of that, he found himself liordd up in a trice: though he appeal'd in vain to the priviledges of the University.

ty, pleaded *Adultus*, and invoked the mercy of the Spectators. Nor was he let down till the Master had planted a Grove of Birch in his back-side, for the Terrour and publick Example of all Waggs that divulge the Secrets of *Priscian*, and make merry with their Teachers. This stuck so much *Triplet* that all his life-time he never forgave the Doctor, but sent him every New-years-tide an Anniversary Ballad to a new Tune, and so in his turn avenged himself of his jerking Pedagogue.

Now when I observed that of late years Mr. Bayes had regularly spawned his Book; in 1670 the *Ecclesiastical Policy*; in 1671 the *Defence of the Ecclesiastical Policy*; and now in 1672 this *Preface to Bishop Bramhal*, & that they were writ in a stile so vindictive and poynant, that they wanted nothing but shime to be right *Tom Triplet*, and that their edge bore alwayes upon *I. O.* either in broad meanings or in plain terms: I began to suspect that where there was so great resemblance in the Effects, there might be some parallel in their

their Causes. For though the Pecks of Players among themselves, or of Poet against Poet, or of a Conformist-Divine against a Nonconformist, are dangerous, and of late times have caused great disturbance; yet I never remarked so irreconcilable and implacable a spirit as that of Boyes against their Schoolmasters or Tutors. The quarrels of their Education have an influence upon their Memories and Understandings for ever after. They cannot speak of their Teachers with any patience or civility; & their discourse is never so flippanant, nor their Wits so fluent as when you put them upon that *Theme*. Nay, I have heard old Men, otherwise, sober, peaceable and good-natured, who never could forgive *Obbolsen*, as the younger are still inveighing against *Dr. Busby*. It were well that both old and young would reform this vice, and consider how easie a thing it is upon particular grudges, and as they conceive out of a just censure, to slip either into juvenile petulancy or inveterate uncharitableness. And had there

there not been something of this in his own case, I am confident Mr. Bayes in his *Ecclesiastical Policy*, in order to the publick Peace and security of the Government, could not have failed to admonish Princes to beware of this growing Evil, and to brandish the *Publick Rods* if not *the Axes* against the Boyes, to teach them better manners. And he would have assured them that they might have done it with all safety, notwithstanding that there were in proportion an hundred Boyes against one *Preceptor*. But therefore is it not possible that J. O. and Mr. Bayes have known one another formerly in the University; and that (as in Seniority there is a kind of Magistracy) Bayes being yet young, J. O. conceiv'd himself in those dayes to be his Superior, and exercised an Academical Jurisdiction or Dominion over him. Now whether J. O. might not be too severe upon him there (for all men are prone to be cogent and supercilious when they are in Office) or whether Mr. Bayes might not make some little escapes and excursions there (as

(as young men are apt to do when they are got together) that I know not, and rather believe the contrary. But that is certain that the young Wits in the Universities have alwayes an animosity against the Doctors, and take a peculiar felicity in having a lucky hit at any of them. I rather suppose that after Mr. Bayes had changed the place, and his condition, to be the Noblemans Chaplain, that he might commit some exorbitance in I. O.'s opinion, or preach or write something to I. O.'s reproach, and published the *Secrets of the Holy Brotherhood* : and that I. O. having got him within his reach, did therefore (figuratively speaking)

---- *Instead of Maid Iillian*

Take up his Malepillian,

And whipt him like a baggage----

as *Ten Triplex* exprestes it, this might well raise Mr. Bayes his Choler, who, considering himself to be now in Holy Orders, and conceiving that he had been as safe as in a Sanctuary under his Patrons protection, must needs take it ill to be handled so irreverently. If it were

were thus in Fact, and that *I. O.* might presume too much upon his former Authority to give him Correction; yet it is the more excusable, if Mr. *Bayes* had on his part been guilty of so much disingenuity. For though a man may be allowed once in his life to change his Party, and the whole Scence of his Affairs, either for his Safety or Preferment; nay, though every man be obliged to change an hundred times backward and forward, if his Judgement be so weak & variable; yet there are some drudgeries that no man of Honour would put himself upon, and but few submit to if they were imposed. As suppose one had thought fit to pass over from one Perswasion of the Christian Religion unto another; he would not chuse to spit thrice at every Article that he relinquished, to curse solemnly his Father & Mother for having educated him in those Opinions, to animate his new Acquaintances to the massaering of his former Camarades. These are businesses that can only be expected from a Renegade of

Algier

Argier or Tunis, to over-doe in expiation, and gain better credence of being a sincere *Musliman*. And truly, though I can scarcely believe that Mr. *Bayle* hath so mean and desperate intentions, which yet his words seem too often to manifest, the Offices however which he undertakes are almost as dishonourable. For he hath so studied and improved their *Targon* as he calls it, heard their Sermons and Prayers so attentively, searched the Scriptures so narrowly, that a man may justly suspect he had formerly set up of *J. O's* Profession, and having the language so perfectly, hath upon this juncture of affairs betaken himself to turn *Spy* and *Intelligencer*; and tis evident that he hath travell'd the Country for that purpose. So that I cannot resemble him better than to that Politick Engine who about two years ago was employed by some of *Oxford* as a *Missionary* amongst the Nonconformists of the adjacent Counties; and, upon design, either gathered a Congregation of his own, or preached amongst others, til having got all their

Namer,

Names, he threw off the Vizard, and appear'd in his own Colours, an honest *Informer*. But I would not have any man take Mr. *Bayes* his *Fanatical Geography* for authentick, lest he should be as far miss'd, as in the situation of *Geneva*. It suffices that Mr. *Bayes* hath done therein as much as served to his purpose, and mixed probability enough for such as know not better, and whose ears are of a just bore for his fable.

But *I. O.* being of age and parts sufficient either to manage or to neglect this Quarrel, I shall as far as possible decline the mentioning of him, fearing I have too upon (further intelligence and consideration) found that he was not the person whom Mr. *Bayes* principally intended. For, the truth of it is, the King was the Person concerned from the beginning.

His Majesty before his most happy and miraculous Restauration, had sent over a Declaration of his Indulgence to tender Consciences in Ecclesiastical matters. Which, as it was doubtlesse the real Result of the last Advice left
Him

Him by his glorious Father, and of his own consummate Prudence and natural Benignity ; so at his Return he religiously observed and promoted it as far as the Passions and Influences of the contrary party would give leave. For, whereas among all the decent Circumstances of his welcome return, the Providence of God had so cooperated with the duty of his Subjects, that so glorious an Action should neither be soiled with the blood of Victory, nor lessened by any capitulations of Treaty, so not to be wanting on his part in courtesie, as I may say, to so happy a conjuncture. He imposed upon himself an Oblivion of former offences, and this Indulgence in Ecclesiastical affairs. And to royal and generous minds no stipulations are so binding as their own voluntary promises : nor is it to be wondred if they hold those Conditions that they put upon themselves the most inviolable. He therefore carried the Act of Oblivion and Indempnity thorow : that Party who had suffered so vastly in the late Combuptions not refusing to imitate

tate his Generosity, but throwing all their particular Losses & Resentments into the Publick Reckoning. But when it came to the Ecclesiastical Part, the accomplishment of which onely remain'd behind to have perfected his Majesty's felicity, the businesse I warrant you would not go so, (as I shall have occasion to say more particularly.) For, though I am sorry to speak it, yet it is a sad truth, that the Animosities and Obstinacy of some of the Clergy have in all Ages been the greatest Obstacle to the Clemency, Prudence and good Intentions of Princes, and the Establishment of their Affairs. His Majesty therefore expected a better season, and having at last rid himself of a great Minister of State who had headed this Interest, he now proceeded plainly to recommend to his Parliament effectually and with repeated instances, the Consideration of tender Consciences. After the Kings last representing of this matter to the Parliament, *M^r. Bays* took so much time as was necessary for the maturing of so accurate

accurate a Book which was to be the standard of Government for all future Ages; and he was happily delivered in 1670 of his Ecclesiastical Policy. And, though he thought fit in this first Book to treat his Majesty more tenderly than in those that followed, yet even in this he doth all along use great liberty and presumption. Nor can what he objects, page 282, to weak Consciences, take place so justly upon them as upon himself: who, while his Prince might expect his Compliance, doth give him Counsel, advises him how to govern the Kingdom, blames, and corrects the Laws, and tells him how this and the other might be mended. But that I may not involve the thing in generals, but represent undeniably Mr. Bayes his performance in this undertaking, I shall without Art write down his own words and his own *quod Scripsi Scripsi*, as they ly naked to the view of every Reader.

The grand Thesis upon which he stakes not onely all his own Divinity and Policy, his Reputation, Preferment,

ment and Conscience, of most of which he hath no reason to be Prodigal; but even the Crowns and Fate of Princes, and the Liberties, Lives and Estates, and, which is more, the Consciences of their subjects, which are too valuable to be trusted in his disposal, is this, page 10 That it is absolutely necessary to the Peace and Government of the World, that the Supreme Magistrate of every Commonwealth should be vested with a Power to govern and conduct the Consciences of subjects in Affairs of Religion. And page 12. he explains himself more fully, that unless Princes have Power to binde their subjects to that Religion, that they apprehend most advantageous to publick Peace and Tranquillity, and restrain those religious mistakes that tend to its subversion, they are no better then Statues and Images of Authority, page 13. A Prince is endued with a Power to conduct Religion, and that must be subject to his Dominion, as well as all other Affairs of State, Page 27. If Princes should forego their Sovereignty over Mens Consciences in matters of Religion, they leave

themselves less Power then is absolutely
 necessary, &c. And in brief, the Su-
 pream Government of every Common-
 wealth, wherever it is lodged, must of
 necessity be universal, absolute and un-
 controulable in all affairs whatsoever
 that concern the Interests of Mankind,
 and the ends of Government, p.32. He
 in whom the Supream Power resides, ha-
 ving Authority to assign to every sub-
 ject his proper Function, and among
 others those of the Priesthood; the exer-
 cise thereof as he has Power to transfer
 upon others, so he may if he please reserve
 it to himself, p.33. Our Saviour came not
 to unsettle the Foundations of Govern-
 ment, but left the Government of the
 World in the same condition he found it,
 p.34. The Government of Religion was
 vested in Princes by an antecedent right
 to Christ.--- This being the Magiste-
 rial and main Point that he maintains,
 the rest of his Assertions may be reck-
 oned as Corollaries to this Thesis, and
 without which indeed such an unlimit-
 ed Maxime can never be justified. Ther-
 fore to make a Conscience fit for the
 nonse, he sayes, p.89. Men may think
 of

of things according to their own Perswa-
sions, and assert the freedom of their
Judgements against all the Powers of
the Earth. This is the Privilege of
the Mind of Man within its own Do-
minions, its Kingdom is Intellectual,
&c. Whilst Conscience acts within its
proper Sphere, the Civil Power is so far
from doing it violence, that it never can.

P 92. Mankind have the same natural
right to Liberty of Conscience in Mat-
ters of Religious Worship, as in Affairs
of Justice and Honesty; that is to say, a
Liberty of Judgement, but not of Pra-
ctice. And in the same page he deter-
mines Christian-Liberty to be founded
upon the Reasonableness of this Prin-
ciple, p 308. In cases and disputes of
publick concernment, Private men are
not properly sui-Juris, They have no
Power over their own Actions; they are
not to be directed by their own Judg-
ments, or determined by their own Wills,
but by the commands and determinati-
ons of the publick Conscience; and if
there be any sin in the Command, he that
imposed it shall answer for it, and not I
whose whole duty it is to obey. The Com-

mands of Authority will warrant my Obedience, my Obedience will hallow, or at least excuse my Action, and so secure me from sin, if not from error: and in all doubtful and disputable cases, 'tis better to erre with Authority then to be in the right against it: not only because the danger of a little error, (and so it is if it be disputable) is out-weighed by the importance of the great duty of Obedience, &c.

Another of his Corollaries is, That God hath appointed, (p.80.) the Magistrates to be his Trustees upon Earth, and his Officials to act and determine in Moral Vertues and pious Devotions, according to all accidents and emergencies of Affairs, to assign new Particulars of the Divine Law, to declare new Bounds of right and wrong, which the Law of God neither doth nor can limit, p.69. Moral Vertue being the most material and useful Part of all Religion, is also the utmost end of all its other duties. p.97. All Religion must necessarily be resolved into Enthusiasm or Morality. The former is meer Imposture; and therefore all that is true must

must be reduced to the latter. Having thus enabled the Prince, dispensed with Conscience, and fitted up a Moral Religion for that Conscience, to shew how much those moral virtues are to be valued, p. 53. of the Preface to his *Ecclesiastical Policy*, he affirms, that 'tis absolutely necessary to the peace and happiness of Kingdoms, that there be set up a more severe Government over Mens Consciences and religious persuasions, than over their vices and immoralities. And p. 55. of the same, that Princes may with less hazard give liberty to mens vices and debaucheries, than their Consciences. But for what belongs particularly to the use of their power in Religion, he first (p. 56. of his Book) saith, that the Protestant Reformation hath not bin able to reser't'e Princes in their full and natural rights in reference to its concerns: and 58. most Protestant Princes have been frightened, not to say, be'tor'd out of the exercise of their Ecclesiastical jurisdiction, p. 271. If Princes will be resolute (and if they will govern so they must be) they may easily make the most stubborn Conscience bend to their

resolutions, p. 221. Princes must be sure
 to bind on at first their Ecclesiastical
 Laws with the straitest knot, and after-
 ward keep them in force by the severity
 of their execution, 223. speaking of ho-
 nest and well-meaning men: So easie
 is it for men to deserve to be punished
 for their Consciences, that there is no
 Nation in the World, in which were Go-
 vernment rightly understood and duely
 managed, mistakes and abuses of Reli-
 gion would not supply the Gallies with
 vastly greater numbers then Villany p.
 54. of the Preface to Ecclesiast. Policy.
 Of all Villains the well-meaning Zealot
 is the most dangerous, p. 49. The Fana-
 tick-Party in Countrey-Towns and Vil-
 lages ariseth not: (to speak within com-
 passe) above the proportion of one to
 twenty. Whilst the publick peace and
 settlement is so unuckily defeated by
 quarrels and mutinies of Religion, to
 erect and create new Trading-Combi-
 nations, is nly to buid so many Nests
 of Faction and Sedition, &c. For it is
 notorious that there is not any sort of
 people so inclinable to seditious Practi-
 ces as the Trading part of a Nation. And

now though many as material passages might be heap'd up out of his Book on all these and other as tender subjects, I shall conclude this perfect enumeration with one Corollary more, to which indeed his grand Thesis and all the superstructures are subordinate and accommodated, p. 166. *Princes cannot pluck a Pin out of the Church, but the State immediately shakes and totters.* This is the *Syntagm* of Mr. Bayes his Divinity and *System* of his Policy: The Principles of which confine upon the *Territor.es* of *Malmsbury*, and the stile as far as his Wit would give him leave, imitates that Language: But the Arrogance and Dictature with which he imposes it on the world, surpasses by far the presumption either of *Gondibert* or *Levi than*. For he had indeed a very Politick fetch or two that might have made a much wiser man than he, more confident. For he imagined first of all that he had perfectly secured himself from any mans answering him: not so much upon the true reason, that is, because indeed so paltry a Book did not deserve an Answer; as be-

cause he had so confounded the Question with differing terms and contradictory expressions, that he might upon occasion affirm whatsoever he denied, or deny whatsoever he affirmed. And then besides, because he had so intangled the matter of Conscience with the Magistrates Power, that he supposed no man could handle it therowly, without bringing himself within the Statute of unreasonable words, and at least a *Premunire*. But last of all because he thought that whosoever answered him, must needs be of a contrary judgment, and he that was of a contrary judgement should be a Fanatick, and if one of them presumed to be meddling, then Mr. Bays, (as all Divines have a *Non-est* to the *Jejunium Cecilianum*, and to the *Act of Oblivion* and *Indemnity*,) would either burn that, or tear it in pieces. Being so well fortified on this side, upon the other he took himself to be impregnable. His Majesty must needs take it kindly, that he gave him so great an accession of Territory: and, lest he should not be thought rightly to understand Government; nay, lest Mr. Bays, by

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vertue of p 271 should not think him fit to govern, he could not in prudence and safety but submit to his Admonition and Instructions. But if he would not, Mr *Bayes* knew, nay that he did, how to be even with him, and would write another Book that should do his business. For, the same Power that had given the Prince that Authority, could also revoke it.

But let us see therefore what success the whole Contrivance met with, or what it deserved. For, after things have been laid with all the depths of humane policy, there happens lightly some ugly little contrary accident from some quarter or other of Heaven, that frustrates and renders all ridiculous.

And here, for brevity and distinction-sake, I must make use of the same privilege by which I call him Mr. *Bayes*, to denominate also his several Aphorismes or Hypotheses: and let him take care whether or no they be significant.

First, *The unlimited Magistrate.*

Secondly, *The Publick Conscience*

F 5

Thirdly,

Thirdly, *Moral Grace.*

Fourthly, *Debauchery tolerat. d.*

Fifthly, *Persecution recommended.*

And lastly, *Push-pin Divinity.*

And now, though I intend not to be longer then the nature of *Animadversions* requires, (this also being but collateral to my work of examining the Preface, and having been so abundantly performed already) yet neither can I proceed well without some Preface. For, as I am obliged to ask pardon if I speak of serious things ridiculously, so I must now beg excuse if I should hap to discourse of ridiculous things seriously. But I shall, so far as possible, observe *decorum*, and, whatever I talk of, not commit such an Absurdity as to be grave with a Buffoon. But the principal cause of my Apology is, because I see I am drawn to mention Kings and Princes, and even our own; whom, as I think of with all duty and reverence, so I avoid speaking of either in jest or earnest, lest, by reason of my private condition, I should, though most unwillingly,

lingly, trip in a word, or fail in the mannerliness of an expression. But Mr. Bayes, because Princes sometimes hear men of his quality play their part, or preach a Sermon, grows so insolent that he thinks himself fit to be their Governour. So dangerous it is to let such creatures be too familiar. They know not their distance, and like the Ass in the Fable, because they see the Spaniel pay with their Masters Leggs, they think themselves priviledged to paw and ramp upon his Shoulders. Yet though I must follow his track now I am in, I hope I shall not write after his Copy.

As for his first Hypothesis of the *unlimited Magistrate*, I must for this once do him right, that after I had read in his 12th page. that *Princes have power to bind their Subjects to that Religion they apprehend most advantageous to publick Peace and Tranquillity*; a long time after, not as I remember till pag. 82. when he bethought himself better, he saith, *No Rites nor Ceremonies can be esteemed unlawf- l in the Worship of God, unless they tend to debauch men either in*
their

their Practices or their Conceptions of the Deity. But no man is in Ingenuity obliged to do him that service for the future; neither yet doth that limitation bind up or interpret what, before he so loosely affirmed. However, take all along the Power of the Magistrate as he hath stated it; I am confident, if Bishop Bramhall were alive (who could no more forbear *Gratius*, then Mr. Bayes could the Bishop, notwithstanding their friendship) he would bestow the same Censure upon him that he doth upon *Gratius*, p. 18. When I read his Book of the Right of the Sovereign Magistrate in Sacred things, he seem'd to me to come too near an *Erastian*, and to lessen the Power of the Keys too much, which *Christ* left as a Legacy to his Church. It maybe he did write that before he was come to full maturity of judgment: and some other things, I do not say, after he was superannuated, but without that due deliberation which he useth at other times (wherein a man may desire Mr. Bayes in Mr. Bayes.) Or it may be some things have been changed in his Book, as I have been told by one of his nearest

nearest Friends, and that we shall shortly see a more authentick Edition of all his Works. This is certain, that some of those things which I dislike were not his own judgment after he was come to maturity in Theological Matters. And had Mr. Bayes (as he ought to have done) carried his book to any of the present Bishops or their Chaplains for a Licence to print it, I cannot conceive that he could have obtained it in better terms than what I have collected out of the 108. page of his Answerer; Notwithstanding the Old Pleas of the Jus Divinum of Episcopacy, of Example and Direction Apostolical, of a Parity of Reason between the Condition of the Church whilst under Extraordinary Officers, and whilst under Ordinary, of the Power of the Church to appoint Ceremonies for Decency and Order, of the Pattern of the Churches of old, (all which under Protestation are reserved till the first opportunity.) I have upon reading of this Book found that it may be of use for the present Juncture of Affairs, and therefore let it be printed. And, as I think, he hath disoblged the Clergy of England

land in this matter; so I beleeeve the
favour that he doth his Majest is not
equivalent to that damage. For that
I may, with Mr. Bayes his leave, prophane
Ben. Johnson, though the gravest Divines
should be his Flatterers: he hath a very
quick sense, and (shall I prophane Ho-
race too in the same period?)

*Hunc male si palpere recalcitrat undi;
tutus.*

If one stroke him il-favouredly, he hath
a terrible way of kicking, and will fling
you to the stable-door, but is himself
safe on every side. He knows it's all but
that you may get into the Saddle again;
and that the Priest may ride him though
it be to a Precipice He therefore con-
tents Himself with the Power that he
hath inherited from his Royal Proge-
nitors Kings and Queens of *England*,
and as it is declared by Parliament: and
is not to be trepann'd into another kind
of Tenure of Dominion, to be held at
Mr. Bayes his pleasure, and depend
upon the strength only of his Argu-
ment. But (that I may not offend
in *Latin* too frequently) he considers,
that by not assuming a Deity to him-
self,

self, he becomes secure and worthy of his Government. There are lightly about the Courts of Princes a sort of Projectors for concealed Lands, to which they entitle the King, to beg them for themselves, and yet generally they get not much by it, but are exceeding vexatious to the subject. And even such a one is this Mr. Bayes with his Project of a *Concealed Power*, that most Princes, as he saith, *have not yet rightly understood*; but whereof the King is so little enamour'd, that I am confident, were it not for prolling and molesting the people, his Majesty would give Mr. Bayes the Patent for it, and let him make his best on't, after he hath paid the Fees to my Lord Keeper.

But one thing I must confess is very pleasant, and he hath past an high Complement upon his Majesty in it: that he may, if he please, reserve the Priesthood, and the exercise of it to himself. Now this indeed is surprising; but this only troubles me, how his Majesty would look

look in all the Sacerdotal Habiliments, & the Pontifical Wardrobe. I am afraid the King would find himself incommoded with all that furniture upon his back, and would scarce reconcile himself to wear even the Lawn-sleeves and the Surplice. But what? even *Charles the fifth*, as I have read, was at his Inauguration by the Pope, content to be vested, according to the *Romane Ceremony*, in the habit of a Deacon: and a man would not scruple too much the formality of the dress in order to Empire.

But one thing I doubt Mr. Bayes did not well consider: that, if the King may discharge the Function of the Priesthood, he may too (and 'tis all the reason in the world) assume the Revenue. It would be the best Subsidy that ever was voluntarily given by the Clergy. But truly otherwise, I do not see but that the King does lead a more unblameable Conversation, and takes more care of Souls than many of them, and understands their Office much better, and deserves something already for the pains he hath taken.

The

The next is *Publike Conscience*. For as to mens private Consciences he hath made them very inconsiderable, and, reading what he saith of them with some attention, I only found this new and important discovery and great Priviledg of Christian-liberty, that *Thought is free*. We are however obliged to him for that seeing by consequence we may think of him what we please. And this he saith a man may assert against all the Powers of the Earth: And indeed with much reason, and to great purpose; seeing, as he also alledges, the Civil Power is so far from doing violence to that liberty, that it never can. But yet if the freedom of thoughts be in not lying open to discovery, there have been ways of compelling men to discover them; or if the freedom consist in retaining their judgements when so manifested, that also hath been made penal. And I doubt not, but beside *Oaths* and *Perunciations*, *Affents* and *Consents*, Mr. *Bayes*, if he were searched, hath twenty other tests and picklocks in his pocket. Would Mr. *Bays* then perswade men to assert this against all the Powers

ers of the Earth? I would ask in what manner? To say the truth, I do not like him, and wou d wish the Non-conformists to be upon their guard; lest he trepan them first by this means into a Plot, and then peach, & so hang them; If Mr. *Bayes* meant otherwise in this matter, I confess my stupidity, and the fault is most his own who should have writ to the capacity of vulgar Readers. He cuts indeed, and falters in this Discourse, which is no good sign, perswading men that they may, and ought to practise against their Consciences, where the Command of the Magistrate intervenes. None of them denies that it is their duty, where their Judgements or Consciences cannot comply with what is enjoyned, that they ought in obedience patiently to suffer; but further they have not learned. I dare say that the Casual Divinity of the Jesuits is all thorow as Orthodox as this Maxime of our Authors: and as the Opinion is brutish, so the Consequences are devilish. To make it therefore go down more glibly, he saith, that *'tis better to err with Authority, then to be in the right against it, in*
all

all doubtful and disputable Cases: because the great duty of Obedience outweighs the danger of a little error, (and little it is if it be disputable.) I cannot understand the truth of this reasoning; that whatsoever is disputable is little; for even the most important matters are subject to controversie; And besides, things are little or great, according to the Eyes or Understandings of several men; and however, a man would suffer something rather than commit that little error against his Conscience, which must render him an Hypocrite to God, and a Knave amongst Men. The Commands (he saith) and Determinations of the publick Conscience ought to carry it; and if there be any sin in the Command, he that imposed it shall answer for it, and not I whose duty it is to obey; (And mark) the Commands of Authority will warrant my Obedience, my Obedience will hallow, or at least excuse my Action, and so secure me from sin, if not from error; and so you are welcom Gentlemen. Truly a very fair and conscionable reckoning! So far is this from hallowing the Action, that

that I dare say it will, if followed home, lead only to all that *sanctified Killary*, for the invention of which we are beholden to the Author. But let him have the honour of it: for he is the first Divine that ever taught Christians how another Man's sin could confer an *Impetative Righteousness* upon all Mankind that shall follow and comply with it; Though the Subject made me serious, yet I could not reade the expression without laughter: *My Obedience will hallow, or at least excuse my Action* So inconsiderable a difference he seems to make betwixt those two terms. That if ever our Author come for his merits to be a Bishop, a man might almost adventure, in stead of *Consecrated*, to say that he was *Excused*.

The third is *Moral Grace*. And whoever is not satisfied with those passages of his concerning it, before quoted, may finde enough where he discourseth it at large, even to surfeit. I cannot make either less or more of it, than that he overturns the whole Fabrick of Christianity, and Power of Religion:

ligion; For my part, if Grace be resolv'd into Morality, I think a Man may almost as well make God too to be only a Notional and Moral Existence.

And white-apron'd *Amaryllis* was of that opinion :

*Ma tu Sanctissima Honestache sola sei
D'a'ma len nata inviolabil Nume.*

But thou most holy *Honesty*, that only art the inviolable Deity of the well-born Soul,

And so too was the Moral Poet :
(for why may not I too bring out my Latin shreds as well as he his,

*Quasi um ad fontem solos deducere ver-
p.s.)
Nilium Numen abest si sit Prudentia--*

There is no need of a Deity where there is Prudence; or, if you will, where there is *Ecclesiastical Policy*

But so far I must do Mr. *Bayes* right, that, to my best observation, if *Prudence* had been God, *Bayes* had been a most dam-

damnable Atheist. Or, perhaps only an Idolater of their number, concerning whom he adds in the next line

- Sed te

*Nos facimus Fortuna Deam Cælo: ne
locamus.*

*But we make thee Fortune a Goddess,
and place thee in Heaven.*

However I cannot but be sorry that he hath undertaken this desperate vocation, when there are twenty other honest and painful ways wherein he might have got a *Living*, and made Fortune propitious. But he cares not upon what Argument, or how dangerous he runs to shew his ambitious Activity: whereas those that will dance upon Ropes, do lightly sometime or other break their necks. And I have heard that even the *Turk*, every day he was to mount the High-Rope, took leave of his *Comfortable Importance* as if he should never see her more. But this is a matter foreign to my Judicature and therefore I leave him to be tried by any Jury of Divines: and, that he may have all right done him, let half of them

them be *School-Divines*, and the other moiety *Systematical*, and let him except against as many as the Law allows, and so God send him a good deliverance. But I am afraid he will never come off.

The fourth is, *Debauchery tolerated*. For supposing, as he does, that 'tis better and safer to give a *Toleration* to mens *Debaucheries* then to their *Religious Perswasions*, it amounts to the same reckoning. This is a very ill way of discoursing, and that a greater severity ought to be exercised over Mens *Consciencs* then over their *Vices* and *Immoralities*. For it argues too much indiscretion, by avoiding one evil to run up into the contrary extream. And Debauch'd Persons will be ready hence to conclude, although it be a perverse way of reasoning, That where the Severity ought to be less, the Crime is less also : nay, even that the more they are debauch'd, it is just that the Punishment should still abate in Proportion ; but however, that it were very imprudent and unadviseable to reform and erre on
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the Religious hand, lest they should thereby incur the greater penalties. Mr. *Bays* would have done much better had he singled out the Theme of Religion. He might have loaded it with all the truth which that subject would bear; I would allow him that *Rebellion is as the sin of Witchcraft*, though that Text of Scripture will scarce admit his interpretation. He could not have declaimed more sharply then I, or any honest man else, would upon occasion against all those who underpretence of Conscience raise War, or create publick disturbances; but Comparisons of Vice are dangerous, and though he should do this without design, yet, while he aggravates upon Religion, and puts it in ballance, he doth so far alleviate and discourage Debauchery. And moreover (which to be sure is against his design) he doth hereby more confirm the austere sort of sinners, and furnishes them with a more specious Colour and stronger Argument. It had been better Policy to instruct the Magistrate that there is no readier way to shame those out of their

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Religious Niceties than by improving Mens Morals. But, as he handles it, never was there any Point more unreasonably exposed; at such a time, when there is so general a depravation of Manners, that even those who contribute towards it do yet complain of it; and though they cannot reform their practice, yet feel the effects, and tremble under the apprehension of the Consequences. It were easie here to shew a man's reading, and to discourse out of History the causes of the decay and ruine of Mr. Bayes his *Roman Empire*, when as the Moralist has it,

-----*savior armis*

Luxuria incubit, Victimq; ulciscitur Orben.

And descending to those times since Christianity was in the Throne, 'tis demonstrable that for one War upon a Fanatical or Religious account, there have been an hundred occasioned by the thirst of Glory and Empire that hath inflamed some great Prince to invade his Neighbours. And more have sprung from the Contentiousness and

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Ambition

Ambition of some of the Clergy ; But the most of all from the Corruption of Manners, and alwayes fatal Debauchery. It exhausts the Estates of private persons, and makes them fit for nothing but the High-way or an Army. It debases the spirits and weakens the vigor of any Nation ; at once indisposing them for War, and rendring them incapable of Peace. For, if they escape intestine troubles, which would certainly follow when they had left themselves by their prodigality or intemperance, no other meanes of subsistence but by preying upon one another ; then must they either, to get a maintenance, pick a quarrel with some other Nation, wherein they are sure to be worsted ; or else, (which more frequently happens,) some neighbouring Prince that understands Government takes them at the advantage, and, if they do not like ripe Fruit fall into his lap, 'tis but shaking the Tree once or twice, and he is sure of them. Where the Horses are, like those of the Sybarites, taught to dance, the Enemy need only learn thy Tune

Tune and bring the Fiddles. But therefore (as far as I understand) his Majesty to obviate and prevent these inconveniencies in his Kingdoms, hath on the one hand never refused a just Warre; that so he might take down our Grease and Luxury, and keep the *English* Courage in breath and exercise; and on the other, (though himself most constantly addicted to the Church of *England*) hath thought fit to grant some liberty to all other sober people, (and longer then they are so God forbid they should have it) thereby to give more temper and allay to the common and notorious Debauchery

But Mr. *Bayes* nevertheless is for his fifth: *Persecution recommended*: and he does it to the purpose. *Julian* himself, who, I think, was first a Reader, and held forth in the Christian Churches before he turned Apostate and then Persecutor, could not have outdone him either in Irony or Cruelty. Only it is God's mercy that Mr. *Bayes* is not Emperour. You have seen how he inveighs against Trade: *That whilst*

Consciencs are cted by such pievish and
 ingovernable Principles, to erect Tra-
 ding-Combinations, is but to build so ma-
 ny Nests of Faction and Sedition. Lay
 up your Ships, my Masters, set Bills on
 your Shop-doors, shut up the Custom-
 house, and why not adjourn the Term,
 mure up Westminster-Hall, leave plow-
 ing and sowing, and keep a dismal Ho-
 ly-day through the Nation, for Mr.
 Bayes is out of humor. But I assure you
 it is no jesting matter. For he hath in
 one place taken a List of the Fanatick
 Ministers, whom he reckons to be but a-
 bout an hundred *Systematical Divines*;
 though I believ the *Barilenew-Register*
 or the *March-Licences* would make
 them about an hundred and three or
 an hundred and four, or so; But this is
 but for rounder number, and breaks no
 square. And then for their people, ei-
 ther they live in greater Societies of
 men (he means the City of London, and
 the other Cities and Towns Corpo-
 rate, but expresses it so to prevent some
 inconvenience that might betide him)
 but there their noise is greater then
 their number. Or else in Countrey
 Towns

Towns and Villages, where they arise not above the Proportion of one to twenty. It were not unwisely done indeed, if he could perswade the Magistrate that all the Fanaticks have but one neck, so that he might cut off Nonconformity at one blow. I suppose the Nonconformists value themselves, tho' upon their Conscience, and not their Numbers: but they would do well to be watchful, lest he have taken a List of their Names as well as their Numbers, and have set Crosses upon all their Doors against there should be occasion. But till that happy juncture, when Mr. Bays shall be fully avenged of his new Enemies, the wealthy Fanaticks, (which is soon done too, for he saith, there are but few of them Men of Estates or Interest) he is content that they should only be exposed (they are his own expressions) to the Pillories, Whipping-Posts, Calleys, Rods and Axes; and moreover and above, to all other Punishments whatsoever, provided they be of a severer nature than those that are afflicted on men for their immoralities. O more than

Humane Clemency! I suppose the Division betwixt Immoralities and Conscience is universal, and whatsoever is wicked or penal is comprehended within their *Territories*. So that although a man should be guilty of all those heinous enormities which are not to be named among Christians, besides all lesser Peccadillo's expressly against the ten Commandments, or such other part of the Divine Law as shall be of the Magistrates making, he shall be in a better condition, and more gently handled, than a *well-meaning ZeLOT*: For this is the man that Mr. Bayes saith, *is of all Villains the most dangerous*: (even more dangerous, it seems, than a malicious and ill-meaning ZeLOT) this is he whom in *all Kingdoms where Government is rightly understood*, he would have condemned to the *Galleys* for his *mistakes and abuses of Religion*. Although the other punishments are more severe, yet this being more new and unacquainted, I cannot pass it by without some reflexion. For I considered what Princes make

make use of Gallies. The first that occurred to me was the *Turk*, who according to *Bayes* his maxim, hath established Mahomerism among his subjects, as the Religion that he apprehends most advantageous to publick peace and settlement. Now in his Empire, the Christians only are guilty of those Religious mistakes that tend to the subversion of Mahomerism: So that he understands Government rightly in chaining the Christians to the Oar. But then in *Christendom*, all that I could think of were the King of *France*, the King of *Spain*, the Knights of *Malta*, the Pope and the rest of the *Italian* Princes. And these all have bound their Subjects to the *Romish* Religion as most advantageous. But these people their Gallies with immoral Fellows and Debauchees: whereas the *Protestants* being their Fanatics and mistakers in Religion should have been their *Ciurma*. But 'tis to be hoped these Princes will take advice, and understand it better for the future. And then at last I remembered that his Majesty too hath

One Galley lately built, but I dare say it is not with that intention: and our Fanaticks, though few, are so many, that one will not serve. But therefore if Mr. *Bays* and his Partners would be at the charge to build the King a whole Squadron for this use, I know not but it might do very well (for we delight in Novelties) and it would be a singular obligation to Sir *John Baptist Ducl*, who might have some pretence to be General of his Majesties Gallies. But so much for that. Yet in the mean time I cannot but admire at Mr. *Bayes* his courage; who knowing how dangerous a Villain a well meaning Zealot is, and having calculated to a man how many of them there are in the whole Nation, yet dares thus openly stimulate the Magistrate against them, and talk of nothing less, but much more, then *Pillories*, *Whipping-Posts*, *Galleys* and *Axes*, in this manner. It is sure some sign (and if he knew not so much he would scarce adventure) of the peaceableness of their Principles, and of that restraint under which their tender

der Consciences hold them, when nevertheless he may walk night and day in safety; though it were so easie a thing to deifie the Divine after the ancient manner, and no man be the wiser. But that which I confesse would vex me most, were I either an ill or a well-meaning Zealot, would be, after all to hear him (as he frequently does) sneering at me in an ironical harangue, to perswade me, forsooth, to take all patiently for Conscience-sake, and the good example of Mankind: Nay, to wheedle one almost to make himself away to save the Hangman a labour. It was indeed near that Pass in the Primitive times, and the tired Magistrates ask'd them, whether they had not Halters and Rivers, and Precipices, if they were so greedy of suffering? But, by the good leave of your Insolence, we are not come to that yet. *Non tibi sed Patri*, or rather *sed Regi*. The Non-conformists have suffered as well as any men in the World. and could do so still, if it were his Majesties pleasure, Their *Duty to God* hath halowed,

and their *Duty to the Magistrate* hath excused both their pain and ignominy. (To die by a Noble hand is some satisfaction,) But when his Majesty, for Reasons best known to himself, hath been graciously pleased to abate of your Rigors, I hope, Mr. *Bayes*, that we shall not see when you have a mind to junket with your *Comfortable Importance*, that the *Extremes* shall be of a Fanatics Giblets: nor that a Nonconformists head must be wip'd off as oft as your Nose drivels: 'Tis sufficient, Sir, we know your Inclination, we know your Abilities, and we know your Lodging; And when there is any further occasion you will doubtless be sent for. For, to say the truth, this *Bayes* is an excellent Tool, and more useful then ten other men. I will undertake that he shall rather then fail, be the Trepanner, the Informer, the Witness, the Attorney, the Judge; and, if the Nonconformist need the benefit of his Book, he shall be Ordinary too, and say he is an ignorant fellow, *non legit*. and then to do in the last Christian-Office, he would

would be his Hangman. In the mean
time, let him enjoy it in speculation,
secure of all the Emploiments when
they shall fall. For I know no Gentle-
man that will take any of them out of
his hands, although it be an age wher-
in men cannot well support their qua-
lity, without some accession from the
publick: and for the ordinary sort of
People, they are I know not by what
disaster besotted and abandon'd to Fa-
naticism. So that Mr. Bayes must ei-
ther do it himself in person, or constitute
the chief Magistrate to be his Deputy.
But Princes do indeed understand
themselves better most of 'em, and do
neither think it so safe to intrust a
Clergy-man with their Authority, nor
decent for themselves to do the drud-
gery of the Clergy. That would have
past in the days of Saint Dominick:
but when even the Inquisition hath lost
its edge in the Popish Countreys, there
is little appearance it should be set up
in *England*. It were a worthy Specta-
cle, were it not? to see his Majesty
like the Governour in *Synefius*, busied in
his

his Cabinet among those Engines whose very names are so hard that it is some torture to name them; the *Podostraba*, the *Dactylethra*, the *Otagra*, the *Rhinolabides*, the *Cheilosprophia*, devising, as they say there are particular Diseases, so a peculiar Rack for every Limb and Member of a Christians Body. Or, would he (with all Reverence be it spoken) exchange his Kingdom of *England* for that of *Maca Tur*? where the great *Arcanum* of Government is the cultivating of a Garden of Poisonous Plants, and preparing thence a Poyson, in which the Prince keeps a Dart that where it does but draw blood, rots the person immediately to pieces; and his Office is with that to be the Executioner of his Subjects. God be Praised his Majesty is far of another temper: and he is wise, though some men be malicious.

But Mr. *Bayes* his sixth, is that which I call his *Pin-pin Divinity*. For he would perswade Princes that there cannot a Pin be pulled out of the Church, but the State immediately totters. That is strange.

strange. And yet I have seen many a Pin pull'd out upon occasion, and yet not so much as the Church it self hath wagg'd. It is true indeed, and we have had sad experiments of it, that some Clergy-men have been so opiniastrye that they have rather expos'd the State to ruine than they would part with a Pin, I will not say out of their Church, but out of their Sleeve. There is nothing more natural then for the Ivy to be of opinion that the Oak cannot stand without its support: or, seeing we are got into Ivy, that the Church cannot hold up longer than It under-props the Walls: whereas it is a sneaking insinuating Imp, scarce better than Blind-weed, that sucks the Tree dry, and moulds the building where it catches. But what, pray Mr. Bayes, is this Pinne in *Pallas's* buckler? Why 'tis some Ceremony or other, that is indifferent in its own nature; that hath no antecedent necessity but only as commanded, that signifies nothing in it self but what the Commander pleases, that even by the Church which commands it, is declar'd to have

nothing of Religion in it, and that is in itself of no great moment or consequence, only it is absolutely necessary that Governors should enjoyn it to avoid the evils that would follow if it were not determined. Very well, Mr. Bayes. This I see will keep cold; anon, perhaps, I may have a stomach. But I must take care lest I swallow your Pin.

Here we have had the Titles, and some short Rehearsal of Mr. Bayes his six Plays. Not but that, should we disqualify him, he hath to my knowledge a hundred more as good in his budget: but really I consult mine own repose. But now among friends, was there ever any thing so monstrous? You see what a man may come too with Divinity and High-feeding. There is a scurvy disease, which though some derive from *America*. Others tell a story, that the *Genoveses* in their Wars with *Mexico*, took some of their Noblemen, whom they cut to pieces and barrel'd up like Tunny, and so maliciously vented it to the *Venetians*, who eating it ignorantly, broke out in those nasty boches
and

and ugly symptoms that are not curable but by *Mercury*. What I relate it for, is out of no further intention, nor is there any more similitude then that the Mind too hath its Nodes sometimes, and the Stile its Buboes; and that I doubt before Mr. Bayes can be rid of 'm, he must pass through a grand Cure and a dry Diet,

And now it is high-time that I resume the thread of my former History concerning Mr Bayes his Books in relation to his Majesty. I do not find that the *Ecclesiastical Policy* found more acceptance then could be expected from so judicious a Prince: nor do I perceive that he was ever considered of at a Promotion of Bishops, nor that he hath the reversion of the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury*. But if he have not by Marriage barr'd his way, and it should ever fall to his lot, I am resolv'd instead of *his Grace* to call him always *his Morality*. But as he got no preferment that I know of at Court though his Patron doubtless having many things in his Gift, did abundantly recompence

compence him) so he mist no less of his aim as to the Reformation of Ecclesiastical-Government upon his Principles. But still what he complains of pag. 20. *the Ecclesiastical Laws were either weakened through want of Execution, or in a manner cancel'd by the opposition of Civil Constitutions.* For, beside what in England, where all things went on at the same rate, in the neighbouring Kingdom of Scotland there were I know not how many *Mas Johns* restored in one day to the work of their Ministry, and a door opened whereby all the rest might come in for the future, and all this by his Majesty's Commission. Nay, I think there was (a thing of very ill example) an Arch-Bishop turn'd out of his See for some Misdemeanor or other. I have not been curious after his name nor his crime, because as much as possible I would not expose the nakedness of any person so eminent formerly in the Church. But henceforward the King fell into disgrace with Mr. Bayes, and any one that had eyes might discern that our Author did not afford his Majesty

jesty that Countenance and Favour
 which he had formerly enjoy'd. So
 that a Book too of J O's happening
 mischievously to come out at the same
 season, Upon pretence of answering
 that, he resolv'd to make his Majesty
 feel the effects of his displeasure. So
 that he set pen to paper again, and
 having kept his Midwife of the *Friendly
 Debate* by him all the time of his preg-
 nancy for fear of miscarrying, he was
 at last happily delivered of his second
 Child, the *Defence of the Ecclesiastical
 Policy*, in the year 1671. It was a ve-
 ry lusty Baby, and twice as big as the
 former, and (which some observed as an
 ill sign, and that if it lived it would
 prove a great Tyrant) it had, when
 born, all the Teeth as perfect as ever
 you saw in any mans Head. But I do
 not reckon much upon those ominous
 criticisines. For there was partly a
 natural cause in it, Mr. Bayes having
 gone so many months, more than the
 Civil Law allows for the utmost term
 of legitimation, that it was no won-
 der if the Brat were at its birth more
 spr-

forward then others usually are. And indeed Mr Bayes was so provident against abortion, & careful for some reasons that the Childe should cry, that the only question in Town (though without much cause (for truly 'twas very like him) was, whether it was not spurious, or suppositious. But Allegories and Raillery, and hard words apart in this his second Book and what I quoted before out of Bishop Bramhall, p. 18. with allusion to our Author, is here falln out as exactly true as if it had been expressely calculated for Bayes his Meridian. He finds himself to have come too near, nay, to have far out-gone an *Erastian*. That he had writ his Ecclesiastical Policy before he was come to maturity of Judgement, That one might desire Mr. Bays in Mr Bayes, that something had been changed in his Book. That a more Authentick Edition was necessary, that some things which he had said before, were not his Judgment after he was come to maturity in Theological matters.

I will not herein too much insist upon his

his Reply, where his Answerer asks him pertinently enough to his grand Thesis, what was then become of their o'd Plea of *Jus Divinum*? Why, saith he, must you prescribe me what I shall write? Perhaps my next Book shall be of that subject. For, perhaps, he said so only for evasion, being old excellent at parrying and fencing. Though I have good reason to believe that we may shortly see some Piece of his upon that Theme, and in defence of an Aphorism of a great Prelate in the last King's time *That the King had no more to do in Ecclesiastical Matters, then Jack that rub'd his Horses heels* For Mr. Bays is so enterprising, you know, *Look too't, I'll doo't*. He has face enough to say or unsay any thing, and 'tis his privilege that the School-Divines deny to be even within the power of the Almighty, to make Contradictions true. An evidence of which (though I reserve the further instances to another occasion that drawes near) does plainly appear in what I now principally urge, to show how dangerous a thing it is for his

his Majesty and all other Princes to lose Mr. Bayes his favour. For whereas he had all along in his first Book treated them like a company of Ignorants, and that did not understand Government, (but that is pardonable in Mr. Bayes) in this his second, now that they will not do as he would have them, when he had given them Power and Instructions how to be wiser for the future, He casts them quite off like men that were desperate. He had, you know, p. 35. of his first Book and in other places, vested them with an universal and unlimited Power, and uncontrollable in the Government of Religion (that is, over mens Consciences) but now in his second, to make them an example to all incorrigible and ungrateful persons, he strips and disrobes them again of all those Regal Ornaments that he had superinduced upon them; and leaves them good Princes in *q' erpo* as he found 'm, to shift for themselves in the wide World as well as they can. Do but read his own words, p. 237 of his *Defence*, parag. 5. and sure you will be of my

my mind, To vest the Supreme Magistrat. in an unlimited and uncontrollable Power, is clearly to defeat the Efficacy and Obligatory force of all the Laws that cannot possibly have any binding virtue upon the minds of men, when they have no other inducement to obedience but only to avoid the penalty. But if the Supreme Power be absolute and unlimited, it doth for that very reason remove and evacuate all other Obligations: for otherwise it is restrained and conditional; and if men lye under no other impulse than of the Law it self, they lye under no other obligation than that of prudence and self-interest, and it remains intirely in the choice of their own discretion whether they shall or shall not obey, and then there is neither Government nor Obligation to Obedience; and the Principle of mens Compliance with the minds of their Superiours, is not the declaration of their will and pleasure, but purely the determination of their own judgments; and therefore 'tis necessary for the security of Government, though for nothing else, to set bounds to its jurisdiction; Otherwise, like the Roman

man Empire, &c. I know it would be difficult to quote twenty lines in Mr. Bayes, but we should encounter with the *Roman Empire*. But observe how laboriously here he hath asserted and proved that all he had said in his first Book was a meer mistake before he was come to years of discretion. For as in Law a man is not accounted so till he hath compleated 21, and 'tis but the last minute of that time that makes him his own Man, (as to all things but Conscience, I mean, for as to that he saith men are never *sui Juris*) so though the distance of his Books was but 1670. and 1671. yet a year, nay, an instant at any time of a Man's life may make him wiser, and he hath like all other fruits, his annual maturity. It was so long since as 1670. p 33. that this universal, unlimited, and uncontrollable Power was the natural right of Princes antecedent to Christ, firmly established by the unalterable Dictates of Natural Reason, universal Practice, and Consent of Nations, that the Scripture rather supposes then asserts the Ecclesiastical

astical (and so the Civil) Jurisdiction of Princes. 'Twas in 1670 p. 10. That it was *absolutely necessary*, and p. 12. that Princes have that Power to bind their Subjects to that Religion that they apprehend most advantageous to publick Peace, &c. So that they derive their title from Eternal Necessity, which the Moralists say the Gods themselves cannot impeach. His Majesty may lay by his *Dieu*, and make use only of his *Mon Drou*: He hath a Patent for his Kingdom under the Broad-Seal of Nature, and next under that, and immediately before Christ, is over all Persons and in all Causes as well Ecclesiastical as Civil (and over all mens Consciences) within his Majesties Realms and Dominions Supream Head and Governour. 'Tis true, the Author sometimes for fashion-sake speaks in that Book of Religion, and of a Deity, but his Principles do necessarily, if not in terms, make the Princes Power *Paramount* to both those, and if he may by his uncontrollable and unlimited universal Authority introduce what Religion, he may of consequence

Sequence what Duty also he pleases.
 Or, if there were no Duty, yet there
 must be some Religion, that being an
 Engine most advantageous for Publick
 Peace and Tranquillity. This was in
 1670. But by 1671. you see the case
 is altered. Even one night hath made
 some men gray. And now p. 238 of
 his second Book, he hath made Princes
 accountable, ay and to so severe an
 Auditor as God himself. *The Thrones
 of Princes are established upon the Domi-
 nion of God* And p. 241. *'Tis no part of
 the Princes concernment to institute Rules
 of Moral Good and Evil, that is the care
 and the Prerogative of a Superior Law-
 giver.* And p. 260. He owns that if the
 Subjects can plead a clear and undoubt-
 ed pringagement to that higher Au-
 thority, they have a liberty to *remun-
 strate* to the equity of their Laws: I
 do not like this Remonstrating nor thes-
 Remonstrants. I wish again that Mr.
Bayes would tell us what he means by
 the term, and where it will end, whe-
 ther he would have the Fanaticks re-
 monstrate: but they are wary, and a-
 sham'd

shamed of what they have done in former times of that nature: Or whether he himself hath a mind to remonstrate, because the Fanaticks are tolerated. That is the thing, that is the business of this whole Book: And knowing that there is a clear and undoubted preengagement to the higher Authority of Nature and Necessity, if the King will persist in Tolerating these people, who knows after Remonstrating, what Mr. *Bayes* will do next? But now in summe what shall we say of this man, and how had the King been served if he had followed *Bayes's* advice, and assumed the power of his first Book? He had run himself into a fine *Premunire*, when now after all, he comes to be made accountable to God, nay even to his Subjects. And by this means it happens, though it were beyond Mr. *Bayes* his forecast, and I dare say he would rather have given the Prince again a power antecedent to Christ, and to bring in what Religion he please; he hath obliged him to as tender a Conscience as any of his Christian Subjects, and then good-

G

night

night to *Ecclesiastical Policy*. I have herein indeavoured the utmost ingenuity toward Mr. *Bayes*, for he hath laid himself open but to too many disadvantages already, so that I need not, I would not press him beyond measure, but to my best understanding, and if I fail I even ask him pardon, I do him right. 'Tis true, that being distracted betwixt his desire that the Consciences of men should be persecuted, and his anger at Princes that will not be advised, he confounds himself every where in his reasonings, that you can hardly distinguish which is the *Whoop* and which is the *Holla*, and he makes Indentures on each side of the way where-soever he goes. But no man that is sober will follow him, lest some Justice of Peace should make him pay his five Shillings, beside the scandal; and it is apparent to every one what he drives at. But were this otherwise, I can spare it, and 'tis sufficient to my purpose that I do thus historically deduce the reason of his setting forth his Books, and shew that it was plainly to *remonstrate* against

against the power of his Prince, and the measures that he hath taken of governing; to set his Majesty at variance not only with his Subjects, but with himself, and to raise a Civil War in his *Intellectual Kingdom*, betwixt his controulable and his uncontrollable Jurisdiction. And because, having to do with a wise man, as Mr. Bayes is, one may often gather more of his mind out of a word that drops casually, than out of his whole watchful and serious discourse, when he is talking of matters of Policy and that require caution, I cannot slight one passage of Mr. Bayes, page 656. Where raging bitterly against all the Presbyterians and other Sects, and as much against the allowing them any Tenderness, Liberty, Toleration or Indulgence, he concludes thus, *Tenderness and Indulgence to such men, were to nourish Vipers in our own Bowels, and the most sottish neglect of our own quiet and security, and we should deserve to perish with the dishonour of Sardanapalus.* Now this of *Sardanapalus* I remember some little thing ever since

I read, I think it was my *Justine*; and I would not willingly be such a Fool as to make a dangerous Similitude that has no foundation. For if Mr. *Bayes* in the Preface of his *Defence*, to excuse his long teeming before it were brought forth, places it partly upon his recreations: I know not why much more a Prince should not be willing to enjoy the innocent comforts of this life, as well as to do the common drudgeries. But I am thinking what Mr. *Bayes* meant by it; for every Similitude must have, though not all, yet some likeness: Now I am sure there were no Nonconformists and Presbyterians in *Sardanapalus* his dayes, I am sure also that *Sardanapalus* was no Clergy-man, that he was no Subject, but he was one of the *Uncontrollable* Creatures, that instead of exercising his Ecclesiastical Power delighted in spinning; till some body come in on the sudden, and catching him at it, cut his Thred. Come 'tis better we left this Argument and the Company too, for you see the Crime, you see the Sentence: And who ever
it

it be, there is some Prince or other whom Mr. *Bayes* will have to perish. That pag. 641. is indeed not so severe, but 'tis pretty well; where, on the same kind of Subject, whetting the Prince against those People, he saith, *That Prince that hath felt the pounces of these ravening Vultures, if after that he shall be perswaded to regard their fair Speeches at such time as they want power, without other evident and unquestionable tokens of their Conversion, deserves to be King of the Night.* Now for this matter, I believe Mr. *Bayes* knows that his Majesty hath received such evident and unquestionable tokens of Loyalty from the Non-conformists; otherwise his own Loyalty would have hindered him from daring to use that expression.

And now I should continue my History to his third Book in hand, the Preface to Bishop *Bramhall*. But having his second Book still before me, I could not but look a little further into it, to see how he hath left matters standing betwixt himself and his Answerer. And first I lighted on that place where he

strives to disintangle himself from what he had said about Trade in his former Book. Here therefore he desires the whole Fanatick world to discover one Syllable that tends to its discouragement. Let us put it upon that issue, and by this one example take the patern of his ingenuity in all his other contests. *Whoop, Mr. Bayes, pag. 49. with what conscience does the Answerer tell the people that I have represented all Tradesmen as seditious, when 'tis so notorious I only suppose that some of them may be tainted with Seditious Principles? If I should affirm that when the Nobility or Clergie are possessed with Principles that incline to Rebellion and disloyal Practices, they are of all Rebels the most dangerous, should I be thought to impeach them of Treason and Rebellion? Holla, Mr. Bayes! But in the 49th. page of your first Book you say expressly, For 'tis notorious that there is not any sort of people so inclinable to Seditious Practices as the Trading part of a Nation. Is this the same thing now? And how does this Defence take off the Objection? And yet he tares and insults and*

and declaims as if he had the Truth on his side. At last he strives to bring himself off and salve the matter in the same pag. 49. with, *In brief it is not the rich Citizen, but the Wealthy Fanatick that I have branded for an ungovernable Beast, and that not as Wealthy but as Fanatick.* Subtile Distinguisher! I see if we give him but Rope enough what he will come to. Mr. Bayes, many as proper a man as your self hath march'd up *Holborn* for distinguishing betwixt the Wealth and the Fanatick: And more over let me tell you, Fanatick Money hath no Ear-mark.

So concerning the Magistrates power in Religion, wherein his Answerer had remark'd some unsafe passages: *Whoop Mr. Bayes!* pag 12. of his first Book before quoted: *Unless Princes have power to bind their Subjects to what Religion they apprehend most advantageous, &c. They are no better than Statues of Authority. Holta Bayes.* Pag. 467. of the second Book: *This bold Calumny I have already I hope competently enough discovered and detested. Yet he repeats this fundamental*

Forgery in all places, so that his whole Book is but one huge Lye 400 pages long. Judge now who is the Forger; and yet he roars too hear as if he would mix Heaven and Earth together. But you may spare your Raving, you will never claw it off as long as your name is Bayes.

So his Answerer it seems having pag. 85. said, that *Bayes* confines the whole Duty of Conscience to the inward thoughts and persuasions of the mind, over which the Magistrate hath no power at all: *Whoop, Bayes, page 89. of his first Book, Let all matters of mere Conscience, whether purely moral or religious, be subject to Conscience only, i.e. Let men think of things according to their own persuasions, and assert the Freedom of their judgments against all the Powers of the Earth. This is the Prerogative of the mind of man within its own Dominions, its Kingdom is Intellectual, &c. p. 91. Liberty of Conscience is internal and invisible, and confined to the minds and judgments of men; and while Conscience acts within its proper sphere, the Civil power*

power is so far from doing it Violence, that it never can. *Holla Bayes*, pag. 229. of his Second Book; *This in down right English is a shameless Lye*. Sir, you must pardon my rudeness, for I will assure you, after long Meditation, I could not devise a more pertinent answer to so bold an one as this. I believe you Mr. Bayes: You meditated long, some twelve moneths at least; and you could not devise any other Answer, and in good earnest he hath not attempted to give any other answer. I confess 'tis no extraordinary Conceit, but 'tis the best Repartee my barren Fancy was able to suggest to me upon so rude an occasion. Well, Mr. Bayes! I see it must come to a quarrel; for thus the Hectors use to do, and to give the Lye at adventure, when they have a mind to try a mans Courage. But I have often known them die on the spot.

So his Answerer p. 134. having taxed him for his speaking against an expression in the Act of Parliament of 5to. Eliz. concerning the Wednesday Fast. *Whoop*, Bayes, page 59. of his

first Book. *The A* for the Wednesday Fast, the *Jejunium Cæilianum* (our Ecclesiastical Politician is the better Statesman of the two by far, and may make sport with Cecil when he pleases) was enjoyned with this clause of Exception, That if any person should affirm it to be imposed with an intention to bind the Conscience, he should be punished as spreader of false News. So careful was the Supreme Magistrate in those dayes not to impose upon the Conscience; and the Wisdom of it is confirmed by the experience of our time: When so eminent a Divine, as I mentioned before, thought fit to write a whole Volume concerning the Holiness of L E N T; though, if I be not deceived, this Doctrine too is prohibited by Act of Parliament, under the same Penalty. But, saith Bayes there, *The matter indeed of this Law was not of any great moment, but this Declaration annexed to it proved of a fatal and mischievous Consequence.* 'Tis very well worth reading at large: But in short the Consequence (or the occasion 'tis no mat-

matter when I have to do with *Bayes*
 was, that “Princes how peremptory
 “soever they have been in asserting
 “the Rights of their Supreme Pow-
 “er, in Civil Affairs, they have
 “been forced to seem modest and dis-
 “fident in the exercise of their Ec-
 “clesiastical Supremacy. Now, *Hol-*
la Bayes, pag. 298. of his second Book.
 “To what purpose does he so briskly
 “Taunt me for Thwarting mine own
 “Principles, because I have censu-
 “red the impertinency of a needless
 “Provision in an Act of Parliament.
 Observe, these are not the Answerers,
 but *Bayes* his own Words; whereby
 you may see with what Reverence and
 Duty he uses to speak of his Superiours
 and their Actions, when they are not
 so happy as to please him. “I may
 “obey the Law, though I may be of a
 “different Perswasion from the Law-
 “givers in an Opinion remote and
 “impertinent to the matter of the Law
 “it self: Nay, I may condemn the
 “wisdom of enacting it, and yet at the
 “same time think my self to lie under

“an

“ an indispensable Obligation to obey
 “ it : For the former reason of its ob-
 “ ligatory power (as any Casuist will
 “ inform him) is not the Judgment
 “ and Opinion of the Law-giver, but
 “ the Declaration of his Will and Plea-
 “ sure. Very good and sound Mr.
Bayes : But here you have opened a
 passage ; and this is as impertinent in
 you and more dangerous than what
 you blamed in that Act, that the Non-
 Conformists may speak against your
 Ecclesiastical Laws ; for their Casuists
 then tell them, that they lying under
 an indispensable obligation not to con-
 form to some of them, do fulfil and
 satisfy their Obedience in submitting to
 the penalty.

I looked further into what he saith
 in defence of the Magistrates assuming
 the Priesthood ; what for his Scheme of
 moral Grace ; what to palliate his ir-
 reverent Expressions concerning our
 Blessed Saviour and the Holy Spirit ;
 what of all other matters objected by
 his Answerer : And if you will believe
 me ; but I had much rather the Rea-
 der

der would take the pains to examine all himself, there is scarce any thing but slender trifling unworthy of a Logician, and beastly railing unbecoming any man, much more a Divine. At last, having read it all through with some attention, I resolved, having failed so of any thing material, to try my fortune whether it might be more lucky, and to open the Book in several places as it chanced. But, whereas they say that in the *Sortes Virgilianæ*, wheresoever you light, you will find something that will hit, and is proper to your intention; on the contrary here, there was not any Leaf that I met with but had something impertinent, so that I resolved to give it over. This only I observed upon the whole, that he does treat his Answerer the most basely and ingratfully that ever man did. For, whereas in his whole first Book there was not one sound Principle, and scarce any thing in his second, but what the Answerer had given him occasion to amend and rectifie if he had understanding; after so great an Obligation he handles him
with

with more rudeness than is imaginable. I know it may be said in Mr. *Bayes* his defence, that in this his second Book he hath made his matters in many places much worse then they were before. But I say that was *Bayes* his want of understanding, and that he knew not how to take hold of so charitable an opportunity as was offered him, and 'twas none of the Answerers fault. There are amongst men some that do not study alwayes the true Rules of Wisdom and Honesty, but delight in a perverse kind of Cunning, which sometimes may take for a while and attain their design, but most usually it fails in the end, and hath a foul farewell. And such are all Mr. *Bayes* his Plots. In all his Writings he doth so confound terms, he leaps cross, he hath more doubles (nay triples and quadruples) than any Hare, so that he thinks himself secure of the Hunters. And in this second Book, even the length of it was some Policy. For you must know it is all but an Epistle to the Author of the *Friendly Debate*; and thought he with himself, who hath

hath so much leisure from his own affairs, that he will read a Letter of another mans business of eight hundred pages? But yet, thought he again, (and I could be content they did read it) in all matters of Argument I will so muddle my self in Talk, that there shall be no catching, no finding me; and besides I will speak alwayes with so Magisterial a Confidence, that no modest man (and most ingenious persons are so) shall so much as quetch at me, but be beat out of Countenance: And plain men shall think that I durst not Talk at such a rate but that I have a Commission. I will first, said he in his heart, like a stout Vagrant, beg, and if that will not do, I will command the Question, and as soon as I have got it I will so alter the property, and put on another Periwig, that I defie them all for discovering me, or ever finding it again. This, beside all the Lock and advantage that I have the Nonconformists upon since the late times; and though they were born since, and have taken more sober Principles, it shall be all one for that

that matter. And then for Oratory and Railing, let *Bayes* alone. This contrivance is indeed all the strength of Mr. *Bayes* his Argument, and, as he said, (how properly let the Reader judge) p. 69. before quoted, *That Moral Virtue is not only the most material and useful part of all Religion, but the ultimate end of all its other Duties*: So, Railing is not only the most material and useful part of his Religion, his Reason, his Oratory, and his Practise; but the ultimate end of this and all his other Books. Otherwise, he is neither so strongly fortified nor so well guarded, but that without any Ceremony of Trenches or Approaches, you may at the very first march up to his Counter-scap without danger. He puts me in mind of the incorrigible Scold; that though she was Duck'd over head and ears under water, yet stretch'd up her hands with her two Thumb-nails in the Nit-cracking posture, or with two Fingers divaricated, to call the man still in that Language, *Louise Rascal and Cuckold*. But in
 deed.

deed, when I consider how miserable a Wretch his Answerer has rendered him, and yet how he persists still, and more to rail and revile him; I can liken it to nothing better betwixt them, then to what I have seen with some pleasure the Hawking at the Magpy. The poor bird understands very well the terrible pounces of that Vulture: but therefore she chatters amain most rufully, and spreads and cocks her tail, so that one that first saw and heard the sport would think that she insulted over the Hawk in that chatter, and she huff'd her train in token of courage and victory; when, alas! 'tis her fear all, and another way of crying the Hawk mercy; and to the end that the Hawk finding nothing but tail and feather to strike at, she may so perhaps shelter her body.

Therefore I think there is nothing in my way that hinders me, but that I may now go on to the History of this Mr. *Bayes* his Third Book, the Preface to Bishop *Bramhall*, and to what *Figure of affairs* it was reconciled. His
Ma

Majesty (perhaps upon Mr. *Bayes* his frequent Admonitions both in his first and second Book, that Princes should be more attentive and confident in exercising their Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, though, I rather believe, he never deign'd to read a line in him, but what he did herein, was onely the result of his own good understanding) resolved to make some clear tryal how the Non-conformists could bear themselves under some Liberty of Conscience. And accordingly he issued on *March* the 15th. 1671, His Gracious *Declaration of Indulgence*, of which I wish His Majesty and the Kingdom much joy, and, as far as my slender judgment can divine, dare augurate and presage mutual Felicity, and that what ever humane Accident may happen (I fear not what *Bayes* foresees) they will, they can never have cause to repent this Action or its Consequences. But hereupon *Bayes* finding that the King had so vigorously exerted his Ecclesiastical Power, but to a purpose quite contrary to what
 Mr.

Mr. *Bayes* had alwayes intended, he grew terrible angry at the King and his Privy Council: so that hereupon he started, as himself saies, into many warm and glowing Meditations: his heart burnt, and the fire kindled, and that heated him into all this wild and rambling talk (as some will be forward enough to call it) though he hopes it is not altogether idle; and whether it be or be not, he hath now neither leisure nor patience to examine. This he confesses upon his best recollection, in the last page of this Preface: Whereupon I cannot but animadvert, as in my first page, that this too lies open to his *Dilemma* against the Non-conformists Prayers: For if he will not accept his own Charge, his Modesty is all impudent and counterfeit: If he does acknowledge it, he is an hot-headed Incendiary; and a wild rambling talker, and in part, if not altogether, an idle Fellow. Really I cannot but pity him, and look upon him as under some great disturbance and despondency of mind: that this with some other scattering passages here

here and there, argues him to be in a
 ill a case as *Tiberius* was in his distract
 ed Letter to the Senate; There want
 nothing of it but the *Dii Diaque m*
perdant wishing, Let the Gods and the
 Goddesses confound him worse then
 he finds himself to be every day con
 founded. But that I may not lose my
 thred. Upon occasion of this His Ma
 jesties gracious Declaration, and a
 gainst it, he writes this his third
 Book *The Preface to Bishop Bramhall*
 and accordingly was unhappily deli
 vered of it in *June* (I have forgot) or
July, in 1672. For he did not go
 his full time of it, but miscarried; part
 ly by a fright from *J. O.* and partly
 by a fall he had upon a *closer import*
ance. But of all his three Bolts this
 was the soonest shot, and therefore
 tis no wonder if he miss'd his mark, and
 took no care where his arrow glanced.
 But what he saith of His Majesty, and
 his Council, being toward the later
 end of his Discourse, I am forced to
 defer that a little, because there being
 no method at all in his wild rambling
 talk,

talk, I must either tread just on in his
botsteps, or else I shall be in a perpe-
tual amaze, and never know when I am
come to my journeyes end.

And here I cannot altogether escape
the mentioning of *J. O.* again, whom
(though I have shown that he was not
the main cause of publishing *Bayes* his
Books) yet he singles out, and on his
pretence runs down all the Non-con-
formists; this being as he imagined,
the safest way by which he might pro-
ceed first to undermine, and then blow
up his Majesties gracious Declaration.
And this indeed is the least immetho-
dical part of the whole Discourse. For
first he undertakes to defend, that Rai-
ling is not onely lawful, but expedi-
ent. Secondly, that though he had
Railed, the person he spoke of ought
not to have taken notice of it. And
Thirdly, that he did not Rail. As to
these things I do not much trouble my
self, nor interest my self in the least
in *J. O.*'s Quarrel; no otherwise than
if he were *John a Nokes* and I heard him
rail'd at by *John a Stiles*: Nor yet
would

would I concern my self unnecessarily in any mans behalf, knowing that 'tis better being at the beginning of a Feast, than to come in at the latter end of a Fray. For if so I should, as often as it happens in such Rencounters, not onely draw Mr. *Bayes*, but *J. O.* too upon my back, I should have made a sweet business on't for my self.

Now as to the Lawfulness and Expedience of Railing; were it not that I do really make Conscience of using Scripture with such a drolling Companion as Mr. *Bayes*, I could overload him thence both with Authority and Example. Nor is it worth ones while to teach him out of other Authors, and the best precedents of the kind, how he, being a Christian and a Divine, ought to have carried himself. But I cannot but mark his Insolence, and how bold he makes upon this Argument, p. 88. of his Second Book, with the Memories of those great Persons there enumerated, several of whom, and particularly my Lord *Verulam*, I could quote to his confusion, upon a contrary

trary and much better account. So far
 am I from repenting my severity towards
 them, that I am tempted rather to applaud
 it by the Glorious examples of the greatest
 Wits of our Nation, King James, Arch-
 Bishop Whitgift, Arch-Bishop Bancroft,
 Bishop Andrewes, Bishop Bilson, Bishop
 Mountague, Bishop Bramhal, Sir Walter
 Rawleigh, Lord Bacon, &c. and he might
 have added Mr. Tarlton with as good
 pretence to this honour as himself.
 The Niches are yet empty in the Old
 Exchange; pray let us speak to the
 Statuary that, next to King James's,
 we may have Bayes his Effigies. For
 such great Wits are Princes Fellows,
 at least when dead. At this rate there
 is not a Scold at Billingsgate but may
 defend her self by the patern of King
 James and Arch-Bishop Whitgift, &c.
 Yet this is passable, if you consider
 our man. But that is most intolerable
 p. 17. of the Preface to his first Book,
 where he justifies his debauched way of
 writing by paralel to our Blessed Savi-
 our. And I cannot but with some awe
 reflect how near the punishment was to
 the

the offence; when having undertaken so profane an Argument, he was in the very instant so infatuated as to say that Christ was not only *in an hot fit of Zeal, but in a seeming Fury too and transport of Passion.* But however, seeing he hath brought us so good Vouchers, let us suppose what is not to be suppos'd that Railing is lawful. Whether it be expedient or no will yet be a new question. And I think Mr. Bayes, when he hath had time *to cool his thoughts*, may be trusted yet with that consideration, and to compute whether the good that he hath done by Railing do counter-vaille the damage which both he in particular and the Cause he labours, have suffered by it. For in my observation, if we meet with an Argument in the Streets, both Men Women and Boys, that are the Auditory, do usually give it on the modester side, and conclude, that she that rails most has the least reason.

For the second, Where he would prove that though he had railed, yet his Answerer J. O. ought not to have taken

taken notice of it, nor those of the Party who are under the same condemnation, but that he should have abstracted and kept close to the Argument, I must confess it is a very secure and wholsom way of railing. And allowing this, he hath good reason to find fault with his Answerer, as he does, for turning over his Book, though without turning it over I know not how he could have answered him, but with his Hat, or with *Mum*. But for ought I can see in that only answer which is to his first Book, he hath been obedient and abstracted the Argument sufficiently; and if he hath been any where severe upon him, he hath done it more cleanly, and much more like a Gentleman, and it hath been only in showing the necessary inferences that must follow upon the Authors Maximes, and unsound Principles. But as to my answer to *Bayes* his second Book or this third, for ought I can see *7. 8.* sleeps upon both Ears.

To his third undertaking, to show that he hath not Rail'd; I shall not
H say

say any thing more, but let it be judg'd by the Company, and to them let it be referr'd. But in my poor opinion I never saw a man thorow all his three books in so high a Salivation.

And therefore till I meet with something more serious, I will take a walk in the Garden, and gather some of Mr. *Bayes* his Flowers. Or I might more properly have said I will go see *Bedlam*, and pick straws with our Madman. First he saith, that some that pretend a great Interest in the holy Brotherhood, upon every slight accident are beating up the Drums against the Pope and Popish Plots; they descry Popery in every common and usual chance; and a Chimney cannot take fire in the City or Suburbs, but they are immediately crying Jesuits and Fireballs. I understand you, Sir. This, Mr. *Bayes*, is your Prologue, that is to be spoke by *Thunder and Lightning*. *I am loud Thunder, brisk Lightning I. I strike men down. I fire the Town—Look to t. We'll dot.* Mr *Bayes*, it is something dangerous meddling with those matters. As innocent

cent persons as your self have felt the fury of the wild Multitude, when such a Calamity hath disordered them. And after your late severity against Tradesmen, it had been better you had not touched the fire. Take heed lest the Reasons which sparkle, forsooth, in your Discourse have not set their Chimneys on fire. None accuses you, what you make sport with, of burning the Ships at *Chatham*, much less of blowing up the *Thames*. But you ought to be careful, lest having so newly distinguished betwixt the Fanatick and his Wealth, they should say, That you are distinguishing now betwixt the Fanaticks and their Houses. These things are too edged to be jested with: if you did but consider, that not onely the *holy Brotherhood*, but the *sober and intelligent Citizens* are equally involved in these sad Accidents. And in that lamentable Conflagration (which was so terrible, that though so many years ago, it is yet fresh in mens memories, and besides, is yearly by Act of *Parlia-*

ment observed with due Humiliation and Solemnity. It was not Trade onely and Merchandise suffered, which you call their *Diana*, and was not so much to be considered: But Saint *Pauls* too was burnt; which the Historians tell us was *Diana's* Temple.

The next thing is more directly levell'd at 7. O. for having in some later Book used those words, *We cannot conform to Arminianism or Socinianism on the one hand, or Popery on the other.* What the Answerer meant by those words, I concern not my self. Onely I cannot but say. That there is a very great neglect somewhere, wheresoever the Inspection of Books is lodged, that at least the *Socinian* Books are tolerated, and sell as openly as the Bible. But *Bayes* turns all into Mirth; He might as well have added all the --isms in the Old Testament, *Perizzitism*, *Hivitism*, *Jebeuzitism*, *Hittitism*, &c.

No, Mr. *Bayes*, that need not; and though this indeed is a very pretty Conceit, and 'twere pity it should have

have been lost; yet I can tell you a better way. For, if rhiming be the business, and you are so good at *ragging of points in a Garret*, there is another word that will do it better, and for which, I know not how truly, you tax your Answerer too here, as if he said, *The Church of England were desperately Schismatical, because the Independents are resolved one and all, to continue separation from her Communion.* Therefore let *Schism*, if you please, rhyme to *-ism*. And though no man is obliged to produce the Authority of the greatest Wits of the Nation to justify a Rhime, yet for your dear sake Mr. Bayes, I will this once supererogate. The first shall be your good Friend Bishop Bramhall, who among many other memorable passages, which I believe were the reason that he never thought fit to print his own Book; p. 101. teaches us, not absurdly, that *It was not the erroneous Opinions of the Church of Rome, but the obtruding them by Laws upon other Churches, which warranted a Separation.* But if this

will not do, *Vous avez* Doctor *Thorn-*
dikes Deposition in Print, for he (I
 hear) is lately dead: *The Church of*
England in separating from the Church
of Rome is guilty of Schism before God.
 I have not the book by me, but I am
 sure 'tis candidly recited as I have
 read it. Then (to shew too that there
 is a King on this side) His present
 Majesty's Father in his Declaration
 4^{to}. *Caroli* 1628. affirms that a Book
 entituled *Appello Casarem*, or *An Appeal*
 to *Cesar*, and published in the year 1625,
 by *Richard Montague* then Batchelour
 of Divinity, and now Bishop of *Chiche-*
ster, had opened the way to those Schisms
 and Divisions which have since ensued in
 the Church, and that therefore for the re-
 dress and remedy thereof, and for the sa-
 tisfaction of the consciences of his good peo-
 ple, he had not onely by publick Proclama-
 tion called in that book, which ministred
 matter of offence, but to prevent the like
 danger for the future, reprinted the Arti-
 cles of Religion, established in the time of
Queen Elizabeth, of Famous Memory:
 and by a Declaration before those Articles,
 did.

did restrain all Opinions to the sense of those Articles, that nothing might be left for private Phantries and Innovations, &c. And if this will not amount fully, I shall conclude with a Villanous Pamphlet that I met with t'other day; but of which a great Wit indeed was the Author. And, whereas Mr. Bayes is alwayes desying the Nonconformists with Mr. Hookers *Ecclesiastical Polity*, and the *Friendly Debate*; I am of opinion, though I have a great Reverence for Mr. Hooker, who in some things did answer himself, That this little Book, of not full eight leaves, hath shut that *Ecclesiastical Polity*, and Mr. Bayes's too, out of doors: But for the *Friendly Debate*, I must confess, that is unanswerable. 'Tis one Mr. Hales of Eaton, a most learned Divine, and one of the Church of England, and most remarkable for his Sufferings in the late times, and his Christian Patience under them. And I reckon it not one of the least Ignominies of that Age, that so eminent a Person should have been by the Iniquity

ty of the times reduced to those necessities under which he lived; as I account it no small honour to have grown up into some part of his Acquaintance, and convers'd awhile with the living *remains* of one of the clearest heads and best prepared breasts in Christendom. That which I speak of is his little *Treatise of Schism*, which though I had read many years ago, was quite out of my mind, till I occasionally light upon't at a Booksellers Stall. I hope it will not be tedious, though I write of some few (and yet whatsoever I omit, I shall have left behind more) material passages. "Schism
 "is one of those Theological Scarcrows with which they, who use to
 "uphold a Party in Religion, use to
 "fright away such as making inquiry
 "into it, are ready to relinquish and
 "oppose it, if it appear either erroneous or suspicious. Schism is, if
 "we would define it, an unnecessary
 "separation of Christians from that
 "part of the visible Church, of which
 "they were once members. Some reverencing

verencing Antiquity more then
 needs, have suffered themselves to
 be scared with imputation of Schism
 more then needs. Nothing absolves
 men from the guilt of Schism, but
 true and unpretended Conscience.
 But the Judgments of the Ancients
 many times (to speak most gently)
 are justly to be suspected. Where
 the cause of Schism is necessary,
 there not he that separates, but he
 that is the cause of Separation, is the
 Schismatick. Where the occasion
 of Separation is unnecessary, neither
 side can be excused from guilt of
 Schism. But who shall be the Judge?
 That is a point of great difficulty,
 because it carries fire in the Tail of
 it; for it brings with it a piece of
 Doctrine which is seldom pleasing to
 Superiours. You shall find that all
 Schisms have crept into the Church
 by one of these three ways; either
 upon matter of Fact, or upon mat-
 ter of Opinion, or point of Ambi-
 tion. For the first, I call that mat-
 ter of Fact, when something is re-
 quired

"quired to be done by us, which either
 "we know or strongly suspect to be
 "unlawful. Where he instances in
 the old great Controversie about E A-
 S T E R, "For it being upon error ra-
 "ken for necessary that an Easter
 "must be kept, and upon worse than
 "error (for it was no less than a
 "point of Judaism forc'd upon a
 "Church), thought further necessary
 "that the ground of the time for the
 "Feast, must be the Rule left by *Moses*
 "to the Jews: There arose a stout Que-
 "stion, Whether 'twas to be Celebra-
 "ted with the Jews on the fourteenth
 "Moon, or the Sunday following.
 "This caused as great a Combustion
 "as ever was; the West separating
 "and refusing Communion with the
 "East for many years together. Here
 "I cannot see but all the World were
 "Schismaticks, excepting only that
 "we charitably suppose to excuse
 "them from it, that all parties did
 "what they did out of Conscience.
 "A thing which befell them by the
 "ignorance, for I will not say the
 malice,

"malice, of their guides; and that
 "through the just Judgment of God,
 "because, through sloth and blind obe-
 "dience, men examined not the things
 "that were taught, but like Beasts of
 "burthen patiently couched down, and
 "indifferently underwent all what-
 "soever their Superiours laid upon
 "them. If the discretion of the chief-
 "est guides of the Church did, in a
 "point so trivial, so inconsiderable, so
 "mainly fail them: Can we without
 "the imputation of great grossness
 "and folly, think so poor-spirited per-
 "sons competent Judges of the Que-
 "stions now on foot betwixt the
 "Churches? Where, or among
 "whom, or how many the Church
 "shall be, it is a thing indifferent:
 "What if those to whom the Execu-
 "tion of the Publick Service is com-
 "mitted, do something, either un-
 "seemly or suspicious, or peradven-
 "ture unlawful? What if the Garments
 "they wear be censured, nay, indeed
 "be suspicious. What if the gesture
 "or adoration to be used to the Al-

"tars, as now we have learned to
 "speak? What if the Homilist have
 "preached or delivered any Doctrine,
 "of the truth of which we are not well
 "persuaded, (a thing which very
 "often falls out;) yet for all this we
 "may not separate, except we be con-
 "strained personally to bear a part in
 "it our selves. Nothing can be a just
 "cause of refusing Communion in
 "Schism that concerns Fact, but one-
 "ly to require the execution of some
 "unlawful or suspected Act. For, not
 "only in Reason, but in Religion too,
 "that Maxim admits of no release,
 "*Cantissimi cujusque præceptum, quod*
 "*dubitas ne feceris*; That whatsoever
 "you doubt of, that you in no case do.
 He instances then in the second Coun-
 cil of *Nice*, "Where (saith he) the *Sy-*
 "nod it self was the Schismatical par-
 "ty in the point of using the Images,
 "which (saith he) all acknowledge
 "unnecessary, most do suspect, and
 "many hold utterly unlawful: Can
 "then the injoyning of such a thing be
 "ought else but an abuse? Can the
 re-

refusal of Communion here be
 thought any other thing then Duty?
 Here, or upon the like occasion to se-
 parate, may peradventure bring per-
 sonal trouble or danger, against
 which it concerns any honest man
 to have *Pectus preparatum*. Then of
 Schism from Opinion, Prayer, Con-
 fession, Thanksgiving, Reading of
 Scripture, Administration of Sacra-
 ments in the plainest and the simplest
 manner, were matter enough to fur-
 nish out a sufficient Liturgy, though
 nothing either of Private Opinion,
 or of Church Pomp, of Garments,
 of prescribed Gestures, of Imagery,
 of Musick, of matter concerning
 the Dead, of many Superfluities
 which creep into the Church, under
 the name of Order and Decency,
 did interpose it self. To charge
 Churches and Liturgies with things
 unnecessary was the first beginning of
 Superstition. If the Fathers and spe-
 cial Guides of the Church would be
 a little sparing in incumbering Churches
 with Superfluities, or not over-
 ridged

"ridged either in reviving obsolete cu-
 "stoms, or imposing new: There would
 "be far less cause of Schism or Su-
 "perstition; and all the Inconvenience
 "likely to ensue, would be but this,
 "They should in so doing yield a little
 "to the imbecility of their Inferiours;
 "a thing which Saint *Paul* would re-
 "ver have refused to do. It is alike
 "unlawful to make profession of
 "known or suspected Falshood, as to
 "put in practise unlawful or suspect-
 "ed Actions. The third thing I na-
 "med for matter of Schism was Am-
 "bition, I mean Episcopal Ambi-
 "tion: One head of which, is one
 "Bishops claiming Supremacy over
 "another, which, as it hath been from
 "time to time a great Trespas a-
 "gainst the Churches Peace, so it is
 "now the final ruine of it. For they
 "do but abuse themselves and others,
 "who would perswade us that Bishops
 "by Christs Institution have any Su-
 "periority over other men further than
 "that of Reverence, or that any Bishop
 "is superiour to another further than
 "positive Order agreed upon among
 "Christians.

" Christians hath prescribed. Time
 " hath taken leave, sometimes, to fix
 " this name of CONVENTICLES
 " upon good and honest Meetings.
 " Though open Assemblies are requi-
 " red, yet, at all times while men are
 " really pious, all Meetings of men for
 " mutual help of Piety and Devotion,
 " wheresoever, and by whomsoever ce-
 " lebrated, were permitted without ex-
 " ception. In times of manifest Cor-
 " ruption and Persecution, wherein
 " Religious Assembling is dangerous,
 " Private Meetings, howsoever besides
 " Publick Order, are not only lawful,
 " but they are of Necessity and Duty.
 " All pious Assemblies, in times of
 " Persecution and Corruption, howe-
 " ver practised, are indeed, or rather
 " alone, the Lawful Congregations:
 " And Publick Assemblies, though ac-
 " cording to form of Law, are indeed,
 " nothing else but RIOTS and CON-
 " VENTICLES, if they be stained
 " with Corruption and Superstition.
 Do you not see now, Mr *Bayes*, that
 you needed not have gone so for a
 word

word, when you might have had it in the Neighbourhood? If there be any Coherence left in your Scull, you cannot but perceive that I have brought you Authority enough to prove that *Schism* (for the Reason we may discourse another time) do's at least Rhime to *Is'm*. But you have a peculiar delight and felicity, (which no man envies you) in Scripture-Drollery, nothing less will taste to your Palate: Whereas otherwise you have travelled so far in *Italy*, that you could not escape the Titles of some Books which would have served your turn as well, *Cardinalism*, *Nepotism*, *Putanism*, if you were in a *Paroxysm* of the *Is'm's*.

When I had writ this, and undergone so grateful a Penance for no less than that I had transcribed before out of our Author; I could not upon comparing them both together but reflect most seriously upon the difference of their two wayes of Discoursing. I could not but admire that Majesty and Beauty which sits upon the Forehead of Masculine Truth and generous Honesty: But no less

less detest the Deformity of Falshood disguised in all its Ornaments. How much another thing it is to hear him speak, that hath cleared himself from froth and growns, and who suffers neither Sloth nor Fear, nor Ambition, nor any other tempting Spirit of that nature to abuse him, from one, who as Mr. *Hales* expresseth it; makes Christianity Laquey to Ambition; How wretchedly, the one to uphold his *Fiction*, must incite Princes to Persecution and Tyranny, degrade Grace to Morality, debauch Conscience against its own Principles, distort and mis-interpret the Scripture, fill the World with Blood, Execution, and Massacre; while the other needs and requires no more but a peaceable and unprejudicate Soul, and the native Simplicity of a Christian-spirit! And me-thinks, if our Author had any spark of Virtue unextinguished, he should, upon considering these together, retire into his Closet, and there lament and pine away for his desperate follie; for the disgrace he hath, as far as in him is, brought upon the
Church

Church of England by such an undertaking, and for the eternal shame to which he has hereby condemn'd his own Memory.

I ask you heartily pardon, Mr. Bayes, for treating you against *Decorum* here, with so much gravity. 'Tis possible I may not trouble you above once or twice more in the like nature; but so often at least, I hope, one may in the writing of a whole Book, have leave to be serious. Your next Flower, and that indeed is a sweet one, *Dear Heart, how could I Hug and Kiss thee for all this Love and Sweetness?* Fy, fy, Mr. Bayes, is this the Language of a Divine, and to be used, as you sometimes express it, in the Face of the Sun? Who can escape from thinking that you are adream'd of your *Comfortable Importance*? These are (as the *Moral Satyrist* calls them in the cleanliest manner the thing would bear) words *left betwixt the Sheets*: Somebody might take it ill that you should misapply your Courtship to an Enemy. But in the *Roman Empire* it was the
Privi-

priviledg of the Hangman to deflour a Virgin before Execution. But, sweet Mr. Bayes, (for I know you do nothing without a precedent of some of the greatest Wits of the Nation) whose example had you for this *seeming Transport* of a gentler *Passion*.

Then comes, *Welfare* poor *Macedo* for a *modest Fool*. This I know is matter of *Gazette*, which is as Canonical as *Ecclesiastical Polity*. Therefore I have the less to say to't. Only, I could wish that there were some severer Laws against such Villains who raise so false and scandalous reports of worthy Gentlemen; and that those Laws were put in Execution: And that men might not be suffered to walk the Streets in so confident a Garb, who commit those Assassins upon the reputation of deserving Persons!

Here follows a fore Charge: That the Answerer had *without any provocation, in a publick and solemn way, undertaken the Defence of the Fanatick Cause*. Here, indeed, Mr. Bayes, You have Reason, and you might have had as just a quarrel.

rel against whosoever had undertaken it. For, your design and hope was from the beginning, that no man would have answered you in a publick and solemn way; and, nothing would vex a wise man, as you are, more than to have his Intention and Counsel frustrated. When you have rang'd all your Forces in Battel, when you have plac'd your Canon, when you have sound'd a charge, and given the Word to fall on upon the whole Party; if you could then perswade every particular person of them, that you gave him no Provocation, I confess, Mr. Bayes, this were an excellent and new way of your inventing, to conquer single; ('tis your Moral Vertue) whole Armies. And so the *admiring Drove* might stand gaping, till one by one you had cut all their throats. But Mr. Bayes, I cannot discern but that you gave him as much Provocation in your first Book, as he has you in his *Evangelical Love, Church Peace and Unity*, which is the pretence of your issuing this Preface.

For

For, having for your *Dear sake* (beside many other troubles that I have undertaken, without your giving me any Provocation) sought out and perused that Book too, I do not find you any where personally concern'd, but as you have, it seems upon some conviction, assumed to your self some vices or errors against which he speaks only in general, and with some modesty. But for the rest, you say upon full perusal, you finde not one Syllable to the purpose, beside a perpetual Repetition of the old out-worn Story of Unscriptural Ceremonies, and some frequent whinnings, and sometimes ravings, &c. Now to see the Dulness of some mens Capacities above others. I upon this occasion begun, I know not how it came, at p. 127. And thence read on to the end of his Book. And from thence I turn'd to the beginning and continued to p. 127. and could not all along, observe any thing but what was very pertinent to the matter in hand. But this is your way of excusing your self from replying to things that yet you will be meddling

meddling with, and nibbling at : And 'tis besides a pretty knack (the Nonconformists have it not alone) of frightening or discouraging sober people from reading those dangerous Treatises, which might contribute to their better Information. I cannot but observe, Mr. Bayes, this admirable way (like fat Sir John Falstaff's singular dexterity in sinking) that you have of answering whole Books or Discourses, how pithy and knotty soever, in a line or two, nay sometimes with a word. So it fares with this Book of the Answerers. So with a Book or Discourse of his, I know not, of the *Morality of the Lords Day*; which is answered by a *Septenary Portion in the Hebdomadal Revolution*. So, whether Book or Discourse I also know not of the *Self-evidencing light of the Scripture*, where Bayes offers (and it seems strange) to produce as good proofs for it out of the *Alcoran*. So I shew'd you where he answers Demonstration with the Lye. And one thing more comes into my mind; where, after he has blun-

blunder'd a great while to bring himself off the Magistrates exercising the Priesthood in his own Person, he concludes with an irresistible defence against his Answerer, *This is suitable to the Genius of his Ingenuity, and betrays him as much as the word INTANGLEMENT, which is the Shiboleth of all his Writings.* So he defeats all the gross bodies of Orthodoxy, with calling them *Systemes and Syntagmes.* So you know he answers all the Controversial Books of the Calvinists that ever have been written, with the *Tale of Robin Hood, and the mighty Bramble on the South side of the Lake Lemman.* Mr. Bayes, you cannot enough esteem and cherish this Faculty. For, next to your single beating whole Armies, I do not know any Virtue that you have need of so often, or that will upon trial be found more useful.

And to this succeeds another Flower, I am sure, though I can scarce smell out the Sense of it. But it is Printed in a distinct Character, and that is alwayes a certain sign of a Flower. For our Book-sellers have many

many Arts to make us *yield to their importunity* : and among the rest they promise us, that it shall be printed in fine Paper, and in a very large and fair Letter ; that it shall be very well examined that there be no *Errata*; that where-soever there is a pretty Conceit, it shall be marked out in another Character. But my greatest care was, that when I quoted any Sentence or Word of our Author's, it might be so discernable, lest I should go for a Plagiary. And I am much offended to see, that in several places he hath not kept touch with me. The Word of Mr. *Bayes*'s that he has here made notorious, is *Categoricalness* : and I observe that where-soever there comes a word of that termination he shews it the same honour ; as if he had a mind to make *Bayes* a Collar of *Nesses*. What the mystery is I cannot so easily imagine ; no more then of *Shiboleth* and *Intanglement*. But I doubt Mr. *Bayes* is sick of many complicated Diseases, or to keep to our rhyme *Sicknesses*. He is troubled not onely with the *Isms* but the *Nesses*. He might, if he

he had pleased, here too to have show'd his wit, as he did in the others, and have told us of *Sheerness*, *Danginess*, *Innersness* and *Cathness*. But he might very well have omitted it in this place, knowing how well he had acquitted himself in another, and out of the Scripture too, which gives his Wit the highest relish. 'Tis p. 72. of his first Book, where, to prove that the fruits of the Spirit are no more then Morality, he quotes St. Paul, Gal. 5. 22. Where the Apostle enumerates them; Love, Joy, Peace, Patience, Gentleness, Goodness, Faith, Meekness and Temperance: but our Author translates Joy to *Chearfulness*, Peace to *Peaceableness*, and Faith to *Faithfulness*: What Ignorance, or rather, what Forgery is this of Scripture and Religion? Who is there of the *Systematical*, *German*, *Geneva*, *Orthodox Divines*, but could have taught him better? Who is there of the *Sober*, *Intelligent*, *Episcopal Divines* of the Church of *England* but would abhor this Interpretation? Yet, when his Answerer, I see, objects this to him,

p. 220. Bayes, like a dexterous Scholastical Disputant, it being told him, That Joy is not Chearfulnesse, but that *Spiritual Joy which is unspeakable*; that Peace is not Peaceablenesse in his sense, but that *Peace of God which through Jesus Christ is wrought in the hearts of Believers by the Holy Ghost*; and that Faith in God is there intended, not faithfulness in our Duties, Trusts or Offices: what do's he do? p. 337. He very ingenuously and wisely, when he is to answer, quite forgets that Faith was once named: and, having suppressed that, as to the rest he wipes his Mouth, and rubs his Forehead, and saith the *Cavil is but a little one, and the Fortune of Cæsar and the Roman Empire depend not upon it, and therefore he will not trouble the Reader with a Critical Account of the reason of his Translation.* No, don't Mr. Bayes, 'Tis very well; let it alone. But, though not the Fortunes of Cæsar and the Roman Empire, I doubt there is something more depends upon it, if it be matter of Salvation. And I am afraid besides, that there may a curse

too belong to him who shall knowingly add or diminish in the Scripture. Do you think Bishop *Bramhall* himself, if he had seen this, could have abstained (p. 117. before quoted,) from telling our Author, *That the promiscuous Licence given to people qualified or unqualified, not only to read but to interpret the Scriptures according to their private spirits or particular fancies, without regard either to the Analogy of Faith, which they understand not, or to the Interpretation of the Doctors of former Ages, is more prejudicial (I might better say) pernicious both to particular Christians, and to whole Societies, than the over-rigorous restraint of the Romanists.*

The next is a piece of Mirth, on occasion of some discourse of the Answerers, about the Morality of the Lords-day: Where it seems, he useth some hard words, which I am naturally an enemy to? but might be done of purpose to keep the Controversy from the white-Aprons, within the white surplices, to be more learnedly debated. But this fares no better

than all the rest. There is no kind of *Morality*, I see, but *Bayes* will try to debauch it : *Oh, what edifying Doctrine, saith he, is this to the White-Aprons ! and doubtless they would with the Jews, sonner roast themselves, then a small joynt of Mutton upon the Sacred day of Rest.* Now, I do not, neither, I believe does *Bayes* himself know any of them that are thus superstitious. So that *Mr. Bayes* might, if he had pleased, have spared his jibing at that day, which hath more sacredness in it by far than many, nay than any of those things he pleads for. But when men are once *Adepti* and have attain'd *Bayes* his height, and *Divinity* at least is rightly understood, they have a Priviledge, it seems, not onely to play and make merry on the Sabbath day, but with it.

After this I walked a great way through bushes and brambles before I could find another Flower : but then I met with two upon one stalk ; on occasion of his answerers having said something of the day of Judgment when men should be accountable. *Oh, saith he, we*

shall

shall be sure to be accounted with at the day of judgement; and again, *Ah sweet day, when these people of God shall once for all, to their unspeakable Comfort and Support, wreak their eternal Revenge upon their reprobate Enemies.* This puts me in mind of another expression of our Authors alluding too this way. *'Tis an easie matter by this dancing and capering humour to perpetuate all the Controversies in the World, how plainly soever determinable, to the coming of Elias: and after this rate shall the Barbers bason remain Mambrino's helmet; and the Asses Pannel a furniture for the Great Horse, till the day of judgement.* Now, good Mr. Bays, I am one that desire to be very well resolved in these things; and though not much indeed, yet I attribute something to your judgement. Pray tell us in good earnest, what you think of these things, that we may know how to take our measures of living accordingly. For, if indeed there be no Judgement, no account for what is done here below, I have lost a great deal of precious time, that I might have enjoyed

in one of the fruits of your spirit, that is *Cheerfulness*. How many good jests have I balk'd, even in writing this book, lest I should be brought to answer for every profane and idle word! How frequent opportunities have I mist in my life of geniality and pleasure, and fulfilling Nature in all its ends! How have you frightened the Magistrate in vain, from exercising his uncontrollable Ecclesiastical power, with the fear of an after-reckoning to God Almighty! And how have you, p. 238. defeated the obligatory force of his Laws, and set his Subjects at liberty from all obligations to the duty of Obedience: for they lye under no Obligation, you say then, but of prudence and Self-interest. But unlesse there hath been some error in our education, and we have been seasoned with ill Books at first, so that we can never lose the impression, there is some such matter, and the Governour had reason, when he trembled to hear Saint Paul discoursing of that Subject. The Fanatical Book of Martyrs (for we will

will not with some call the Bible so) tells us some old Stories of persons that have been cited by some of them to appear at such a day, and that by dying at the time prefixed, they have saved their Recognissances. And in the *Scotch* History we read of a great Cardinal that was so summoned by poor Mr. *Guichard*, and yet could not help it, but he must take that long and sad journey of Death to answer at the Grand Assizes. If therefore there be such a thing, I would not for fear, and if there be not, yet I would not for good luck sake, set that terrible day at defiance, or make too merry with it, 'Tis possible that the Nonconformists many of them may be too censorious of others, & too confident of their own Integrity. Others of them are more temperate, and perhaps destitute of all humane redress against their sufferings, Some of those make rash Challenges, and the other just Appeals to appear at that dreadful Tribunal. In the mean time, 'tis not for you to be both the *Enemy* and their Judge. Much less do's

it befit you, because perhaps they speak too fillily or demurely of it, or too braving and confidently, therefore to make a mere mockery of the whole business of that supreme Judge and Judicature. And one thing I will say more, though slighter; that, though I am not so far gone as *Campanella* was in the efficacy of words, and the magick of the face, and pronunciation, Yet I marked how your Answerer look'd when he spoke of the day of Judgement. Very gravely, I assure you, and yet without any depressing or exalting his *Supercilium's*: And I have most often observed that serious words have produced serious Effects.

I have, by this time me-thinks, gather'd enow: nor are there many more left, unless I should go for a Flower to the *Dunghil*, which, he saith, is his *only Magazin*. And this being an expression which he has several times used (for no Nonconformist repeats so often) I cannot but remark, that besides his natural Talent, Mr. *Bayes* hath been very industrious, and neglected no

opportunity of acquiring a perfection of railing. For this is a phrase borrowed from a modern Author lately dead, and I suppose *Bayes* had given him a Bond for repayment at the day that he spoke of so lately.

There are indeed several others at which I am forc'd to stop my nose. For by the smell, any man may discern they grew upon a Ranker soil, than that on the South-side of the *Lake Lemano*, even upon the bank of the *Thames* in the Meadow of *Billings-gate*: as that of the Lye, which, he saith, no Gentleman, much less a Divine, ought to put up. Now if this were to be tryed by a Court-Martial of the Brothers of the Blade, 'Tis to be considered whether it were the down-right Lye, or whether it were only the Lye by Interpretation. For in the disputes of the Schools there is nothing more usual, then *Hoc est Verum. Hoc est falsum.* But this passes without any blemish of Honour, on either side, and so far it is from any obligation to a Challenge or a Duel, that it never comes to be decided, so

much as by the Study-door key. But *quod restat probandum* do's the businesse without demanding other satisfaction. Then, if it were the down-right Lye; it is to be examined who gave the Lye first: for that alters the case. And last of all (but which is indeed upon a quarrel the least material point, yet, it too comes under some consideration) which of the two was in the right, and which of them spoke truth., and which lyed. These are all things to be discussed in their proper places.. For I do not observe that the Answerer gave Bayes the down-right Lye. But I find that Bayes gave him the Lye first in terms. And as to the Truth of the things controverted and alledged, there needs no more than the depositions that I formerly transcribed concerning Bayes his own words. But all this is only a Scene out of Bayes his Rehearsal.

Villain, thou liest,---

--- Arm, arm, Valerio arm,

The Lie no flesh can bear I throw.

And then as to the Success of the combat,

They

--- They flie, they flie
 Who first did give the Lie.

For that of Caitife, and other provocations that are proper for the same Court, I will not medle further. And for the being *past Grace and so past Mercy*; I shall only observe that the Church of *England* is much obliged to Mr. *Bayes* for having proved that Nonconformity is the Sin against the Holy Ghost.

There remains but one Flower more that I have a mind to: But that indeed is a Rapper. 'Tis a *Flower of the Sun*, and might alone serve both for a Staff and a Nose-gay for any Noble-man's Porter. Symbolicalness is the very Essence of Paganism, Superstition and Idolatry. They will and ought sooner to broyl in *Smithfield* than submit to such Abominations of the Strumpet and the Beast. 'Tis the very Potion wherewith the *Scarlet-whore* made drunk the Kings of the Earth. *Heliogabalus* and *Bishop Bonner* lov'd it like Clary and Eggs, and alwaies made it their mornings-draught upon burning daies; and it is not to be doubted but the seven
 Vials

Vials of Wrath that were to be poured out upon the Nations of the Earth under the Reign of Antichrist were filled with Symbolical Extracts and Spirits : with more such stuff which I omit. This is I confess a pretty Posie for the Nose of such a Divine. Doctor *Baily's* Romance of the *Wall-Flower* had nothing comparable to't. And I question, whether, as well as Mr. *Bayes* loves preferment, yet though he had lived in the Primitive-Church, he would not as *Helindorus* Bishop of *Triffa*, I take it, that renounced his Bishoprick rather than his title to the History of *Theagences* and *Chariclia*, have done in like manner : nay, and have delivered up his Bible too into the bargain, before he would quit the honour of so excellent a piece of Drolery. This is surely the Bill of Fare, not at the *Ordination--Dinner* at the *Nags-head*, but of the *Excusation-Dinner* at the *Cock*, and never did Divine make so good Chear of *Owens* Peas-porridge and Scripture. Good Mr. *Bayes*, or Mr. *Thunder*, or Mr. *Cartwright* (not the Nonconformist *Cartwright*,

wright that was you say (as some others too of your acquaintance) converted : but the Player in the Rehearsal) this Divinity I doubt was the *Bacchus* of your Thigh, and not the *Pallas* of your Brain.

Here it is that after so great an excess of wit, he thinks fit to take a Julep and resettle his Brain, and the Government. He grows as serious as 'tis possible for a madman , and pretends to sum up the whole state of the Controversie with the Nonconformists. And to be sure he will make the story as plausible for himself as he may : But therefore it was that I have before so particularly quoted and bound him up with his own Words as fast as such a *Proteus* could be pinion'd. For he is as waxen as the first matter, and no Form comes amiss to him. Every change of Posture does either alter his opinion or vary the expression by which we should judge of it : and sitting he is of one mind, and standing of another. Therefore I take my self the lesse concerned, to fight with a Wind-mill like
Don

Don Quixot: or to whip a Gig as boyes do, or with the Lacqueys at *Charing-cross* or *Lincolns-Inne-fields* to play at the *Wheel of Fortune*, lest I should fall into the hands of my Lord Chief Justice or Sir *Edmond Godfrey*. The truth is in short & let *Bayes* make more or lesse of it if he can; *Bayes* had at first built up such a stupendious Magistrate, as never was of God's making. He had put all Princes upon the Rack to stretch them to his dimension. And, as a streight line continued grows a Circle, he had given them so infinite a Power that it was extended unto Impotency. For though he found it not, till it was too late in the Cause; yet he felt it all along (which is the understanding of Brutes) in the Effect. For, hence it is that he so often complains, that Princes knew not aright that Supremacy over Conscience, to which they were so lately, since their deserting the Church of *Rome*, restored. That in most Nations Government was not rightly understood, and many expressions of that Nature: Whereas indeed the matter

is that Princes have always found that uncontrolable Government over CONSCIENCE to be both unsafe and impracticable. He had run himself here to a stand, and perceiv'd that there was a God, there was Scripture, the Magistrate himself had a Conscience, and must take care that he did not *injoyn things apparently evil*. Being at a stop here, he would therefore try how he could play the Broker on the Subjects side: and no Pimp did ever enter into *serious* disputation to vitiate an innocent Virgin, than he to debauch their Consciences. And to harden their unpractis'd modesty, he imboldens them by his own example, showing them the experiment upon his own Conscience first. But after all, he finds himself again at the same stand here, and is run up to the Wall by an Angel: God, and Scripture, and Conscience will not let him go further: but he owns, that if the Magistrate *injoyns things apparently evil*, the Subject may have liberty to remonstrate. What shall he do then? for it is too glorious.

rious an enterprize to be abandon'd at the first rebuffe. Why he gives us a new Translation of the Bible, and a new Commentary. He saith that Tender-ness of Conscience might be allowed in a Church to be constituted, not in a Church constituted already. That tenderness of Conscience and Scandal are Ignorance; Pride and Obstinacy. He saith, the Nonconformists should communicate with him till they have clear evidence that it is evil. This is a civil way indeed of gaining the question, to perswade men that are unsatisfied, to be satisfied till they be dissatisfied. He threatens, he rails, he jeers them, if it were possible, out of all their Consciences and Honesty; and finding that will not do, he calls out the Magistrate, tells him, these men are not fit to live, there can be no security of Government while they are in being: bring out the Pillories, Whipping-posts, Gallies, Rods, and Axes, (which are *Ratio ultima Cleri*, a Clergy-man's last Argument, as and his first too): and pull in pieces all the Trading

Trading Corporations those Nests of Faction and Sedition. This is a faithful account of the sum and intention of all his undertaking, for which I confess, he was as pick'd a man as could have been employ'd or found out in a whole Kingdome: but it is so much too hard a task for any man to atchieve, that no Goose but would grow giddy with it.

For whereas he reduces the whole Controversie to a matter of two or three Symbolical Ceremonies (and if there be nothing else, more the shame of those that keep such a pudder for them) it is very well worth observing how he hath behaved himself, and how come off in this Dispute. It seems that the Conformists define a Sacrament to be an outward visible sign of an inward Spiritual Grace. It seems that the Sacraments are usually called in the Greek *Symbola*. It seems further that some of the Nonconformists, under the name therefore of Symbolical Ceremonies, dispute the lawfulness of those that are by our Church enjoined

ned, whereby the Nonconformists can
 onely intend that these Ceremonies are
 so applyed, as if they were of a Sa-
 cramental nature and institution, and
 that therefore they are unlawful. Our
 Authors Answerer handling this Ar-
 gument, does among other things make
 use of a pertinent Passage in Saint Au-
 stin, *Signa quum ad res divinas perti-
 nent Sacramenta appellantur.* What
 does Mr. Bayes in this case? for it
 went hard with him. Why, as good
 luck would have it, not being willing
 that so great a Politician, to the irre-
 parable damage of the Church, should
 yet be destroyed, J. O. had forgot to
 quote the Book and the Page. Now
 though you send a man the length of
 your Weapon, and name your Second;
 Yet Mr. Bayes being, as you see often,
 admirably read in the Laws of Duel-
 ling, knew that unlesse the Time and
 Place be appointed, there is no danger.
 He saith therefore, p. 453. of his se-
 cond Book, that he should have advan-
 tage on his side, if he should lay odds
 with him, that there is no such passage in
 all

all the Volumns of Saint Austin. --- But
 however that it is neither civil nor in-
 genuous to trouble him with such Ob-
 jectiōns, as he cannot answer without
 reading over eight or ten large Vo-
 lumns in Folio. It was too much to ex-
 pect from one of so much business, good
Augustulus :

*Quum tot sustineas & tanta negotia
 solus;*

*Res Sacras Armis tuteris, Moribus
 ornes,*

Legibus emendes---

Which may be thus translated: When
 you alone have the Ceremonies to de-
 fend with Whipping-posts, Rods and
 Axes; when you have Grace to turn
 into Morality; when you have the Act
 of Oblivion and indemnity and the Ec-
 clestialical Declaration of *March* to
 tear in pieces; it were unreasonable and
 too much to the damage of the pub-
 lick to put you on such an imploy-
 ment. I ask your Pardon Mr. Bayes,
 for this Paraphrase and Digression; for

I perceive I am even hardned in my Latine, and am prone to use it without fear or reverence. But Mr. Bayes, there might have been a remedy for this, had you pleased. Where then were all your *Leaf-turners*? a sort of poor Readers that you, as well as Bishop Bramhal, ought to have some Reverence for, having made so much use of them to gather materials for your Structures and Superstructures. I cannot be perswaded, for all this, but that he knows it well enough, the passage being so remarkable in it self, and so dirtyed with the Nonconformists Thumbs, that he could not possibly miss it: and I doubt he does but laugh at me now, when, to save him a labour, I tell him in the simplicity of my heart, that even I my self met with it in *Ep. 5ta ad Mersellinum*, and the words these, *Nimis autem longum est convenienter disputare de varietate signorum quæ cum ad res divinas pertinent Sacramenta appellantur*. But whether there be such a place or no, he hath no mind that his Answerer should make use of it: nor of the Schoolmen, whom

whom before he had owned for the Authors of the Church of *England's* Divinity; but would bind up the Answerer to the Law only and the Gospel. And now Mr. *Bayes* saith he will be of the School-mens opinion *as long as they speak Sense* and no longer, (and so I believe of St. *Austin's*) that is to say, so long as they will serve his turn: for all Politicians shake men off when they have no more use of 'm, or find them to thwart the design. But, Mr. *Bayes*, why may not your Answerer or any man else quote St. *Austin*, as well as you may the Scripture? I am sure there is less danger of perverting the place, or of mis-interpretation. And though perhaps a Nonconformist may value the Authority of the Bible above that of the Fathers, yet the *Welch* have a Proverb; that the Bible and a Stone do well together: meaning perhaps, that if one miss the other will hit. You, that are a Duellist, know how great a bravery 'tis to gain your enemies Sword, and that there is no more home-thrust in disputation, than the *Argumentum*.

uentum ad hominem. So that if your Adversary fell upon you with one of your own fathers, it was gallantly done on his part; and no lesse wisely on yours to fence in this manner, & use all your shifts to put it by. For you too, Mr. Bayes, do know, no man better, that it is not at all times safe nor honourable to be of a *Fathers* opinion.

Having escaped this danger; he grows nor can I blame him, exceeding merry: and insults heavily over *Symbolical* wheresoever he meets with it, for in his Answerer I find it not. But wheresoever 'twas it serves to good purpose. For no man would imagine that he could have received so universal a Defeat, & appear in so good humour. A terrible Disputant he is, when he has set up an hard word to be his Opponent; 'Tis a very wholesome thing he knows, and prolongs life: for all the while he can keep up this ball, he may decline the Question. But the poor word is sure to be mumbled and mowled to purpose, and to be made an example. But let us, with Mr. Bayes his leave, examine

amine the thing for once a little cloſer. The Nonconformiſts, as I took notice before, do object to ſome of the Rites of the Church of *England* under the name of Symbolical or ſignificant Ceremonies. They obſerve the Church of *England* does in the diſcourſe of Ceremonies printed before the Common Prayer Book, declare that the retaining of thoſe Ceremonies, is not onely as *they ſerve for decent Order and godly Diſcipline; but as they are apt to ſtir up the dull mind of man to the remembrance of his duty to God, by ſome ſpecial and notable ſignificancy whereby he may be edified.* They further obſerve the Church of *England's* definition of a Sacrament: That it is *an outward viſible ſign of an inward ſpiritual Grace.* They find theſe Ceremonies, ſo conſtituted, impoſ'd upon them by Authority; and moreover, according to our Authors principle, made a new part of the Divine Law. They therefore quarrel and except againſt theſe under the notion of Sacraments, and inſiſt that the Church is not impowred to inſtitute ſuch Ceremonies

monies under such obligations and penalties as they are imposed. Or, if you will, in stead of Church you may say rather the Magistrate: for as much as our Author hath *pro hac vice* delivered the Keys and the whole power of the House into his hands.

Now the Author having got them at this lock, crys Victory. Nothing left will serve him than a three days triumph, as if he had conquered *Europe, Asia* and *Africa*, and let him have a fourth day added, if he please, over the *Terra Incognita* of *Geneva*. There is no end of his Ostentation and Pageantry: and the dejected Nonconformists follow the wheels of his Chariot, to be led afterwards to the Prison and there executed. He had said p. 446. of his Second Book, *Here Cartwright began his Objection, and here he was immediately check'd in his Carrear by Whitgift* (you might Mr. Author, for respect sake have called him at least Mr. if not Archbishop *Whitgift*) who told him plainly, he could not be ignorant that touching the making of a Sacrament, besides the ex-
ternal

ternal Element, there is required a Com-
 mandment of God in his Word that it should
 be done, and a promise annexed to it,
 whereof the Sacrament is a Seal. And in
 pursuance hereof, p. 447. our Author
 saith, *Here then I fix my foot, and*
dare him to his teeth, to prove that any
thing can be capable of the nature or office
of Sacraments that is not established by
Divine Institution and upon Promise of
Divine Acceptance. Upon the confidence
 of this Argument 'tis that he *Hectors*
 and *Achillizes* all the Nonconformists
 out of the pit in this Preface. This
 is the Sword that was consecrated first
 upon the Altar, and thence present-
 ed to the Champions of the Church in
 all Ages. This is that with which
 Archbishop *Whitgift* gave *Cartwright*
 his death's wound: and laid the Puritan
 Reformation a gasping. This is the
 weapon wherewith Master *Hooker* gain-
 ed those lasting and eternal Trophies over
 that baffled cause. This is that with which
 Bp. *Bramhall* wrought those wonderful
 things that exceeded all belief. This hath
 been transmitted successively to the
 L Writer

Writer of the *Friendly Debate*, and to
 this our Author. It is in conclusion the
Cartana of our Church. 'Tis Sir
Solomon's Sword, Cock of as many me-
 as it hath been drawn against. Wo-
 worth the man that comes in the way of
 so dead-doing a tool, and when weilde
 with the arm of such a *Scandarbag* as
 our Author. The Nonconformists had
 need desire a Truce to bury their dead.
 Nay there are none left alive to desire
 it: but they are slain every mother
 son of them. Yet perhaps they are
 but stounded and may revive again. For
 I do not see all this while, that any of
 them have written, as a great Prelate of
 ours, a *Book of Seven Sacraments*: or at-
 tempted to prove that these *Symbolical*
Ceremonies are indeed *Sacraments*.
 Nothing lesse. 'Tis that which they
 most labour against, and they complain
 that these things should be imposed on
 them, with so high Penalty, as was
 nothing of a *Sacramental* nature but
Divine Institution. And because an *Hu-*
mane Institution is herein made of equal
 force to a *Divine Institution*, therefore

It is that they are agrieved. All that they mean, or could mean, as far as I or any man can perceive, is only that these Ceremonies are a kind of *Anti-Sacraments*, and so obtruded upon the Church, that without condescending to these additional Inventions, no man is to be admitted to partake of the true Sacraments which were of Christ's appointing. For, without the Sign of the Cross, our Church will not receive any one to Baptism, as also without kneeling no man is suffered to come to the Communion. So that methinks, our Author and his partners have wounded themselves only with this Argument: and have had as little occasion hereto brag their *Tu Deum's*, as the Roman Emperor had to triumph over the Ocean, because he had gathered Periwinkles and Scallop shells on the Beach. For the author may transform their reasonings as oft as he pleases (even as oft as he doth his own, or the Scriptures): but this is indeed their Fort out of which I do not see they are likely to be beat with all our Authors Canon: that no

such new Conditions ought to be imposed upon Christians by a lesse than Divine Authority, and unto which if they do not submit, though against their Consciences, they shall therefore be deprived of Communion with the Church. And I wonder that our Author could not observe any thing in the Discourse of Evangelical love, that was to the purpose beside a perpetual repetition, of the outworn story of unscriptural Ceremonies, and a peculiar uncouthnesse and obscurity of stile; when as this Plea is there for so many pages distinctly and vigorously insisted on. For it is a childish thing (how high soever our Author magnifies himself in this way of reasoning) either to demand from the Nonconformists a pattern of their Worship from the Scripture, who affect therein a Simplicity free from all exterior circumstances, but such as are natural or customary: or else to require of them some particular command against the Cross or kneeling, and such like Ceremonies which in the time of the Apostles and many Ages after were never thought of.

But therefore general and applicable Rules of Scripture they urge as directions to the Conscience; unto which our Author gives no satisfactory Solution, but by superseding and extinguishing the Conscience, or expoling it to the severest penalties. But here I say then is their main exception, that things indifferent, and that have no proper Signature, or significance to that purpose, should by command be made necessary conditions of Church-Communion. I have many times wished for peaceableness sake that they had a greater latitude; but if unlesse they should stretch their Consciences till they tear again, they cannot conform, what remedy? For I must confesse that Christians have a better Right and Title to the Church, and to the Ordinances of God there, than the Author hath to his Surplice. And that Right is so undoubted and ancient, that it is not to be innovated upon by humane restrictions and captulations.

Bishop Bramhall p. 141. saith, I do
L. 3
pro

profess to all the World, that the transforming of indifferent Opinions into necessary Articles of Faith, hath been that *Insana Laurus*, or cursed Bay-tree, the cause of all our brawling and contention. That which he saw in matter of Doctrine he would not discern in Discipline, whereas this among us, the transforming of things, at best indifferent, into necessary points practice, hath been of as ill consequence. And (to reform a little my seriousness) I shall not let this passe without taking notice that you Mr. Bayes, being the most extravagant person in this matter that ever I heard of, as I have shown, you are mad, and so the *Insana Laurus*; so I wish you may not prove that cursed Bay-tree too, as the Bishop translates it. If you had thought of this, perhaps we might have missed both the Bishops Book and your Preface; for you see that sometimes no Man hath a worse friend than he brings from home.

It is true, and very piously done, that our Church does declare that the
 kneel-

kneeling at the Lords Supper is not injoynd for adoration of those Elements, and concerning the other Ceremonies as before. But the *Romanists* (from whom we have them, and who said of old; we would come to feed on their Meat, as well as eat of their Porridge) do offer us here many a fair declaration, and distinction in very weighty matters, to which nevertheless the Conscience of our Church hath not complied. But in this particular matter of kneeling, which came in first with the Doctrine of Transubstantiation, the *Romish Church* do reproach us with flat Idolatry, in that we not believing the real presence in the Bread and Wine, do yet pay to something or other the same adoration. Suppose the Antient *Pagans* had declared to the Primitive Christians, that the offering of some grains of Incense was only to perfume the room, or that the delivering up of their Bibles, was but for preserving the Book more carefully. Do you think the Christians would have palliated so far, and collu-

ded with their Consciences ? Men are too prone to err on that hand. In the last King's time, some eminent Persons of our *Clergy* made an open defection to the Church of *Rome*. One, and he yet certainly a Protestant, and that hath deserved well of that cause, writ the *Book of Seven Sacraments*. One in the Church at present, though certainly no less a Protestant, could not abstain from arguing the *Holiness of Lent*: Doctor *Thorndike* lately dead, left for his Epitaph, *Hic jacet corpus Herberti Thorndike Præbendarij hujus Ecclesiæ qui vivus veram Reformatæ Ecclesiæ rationem & modum præcibus studiisq; persequibatur*, and neverthelesse he adds, *In Lector requiem ei & beatam in Christo resurrectionem precare*. Which thing I do thus sparingly set down, only to shew the danger of inventive piety: and if Men come once to add new devices to the Scripture, how easily they slide on into Superstition. Therefore, although the Church do consider her self so much as not to alter her Mode unto the fancy of others, yet I can-

not see why she ought to exclude those from Communion, whose weaker consciences cannot for fear of scandal step further. For the Nonconformists; as to these Declarations of our Church against the Reverence to the Creatures of Bread and Wine, and concerning the other Ceremonies as before, will be ready to think they have as good a Plea as that so much commended by our Author against the clause, that whosoever should affirm the Wednesday Fast to be imposed with an intention to bind the Conscience, should be punished like the spreaders of false news; which is, saith a Learned Prelate plainly to them that understand it, to evacuate the whole Law. For all humane power being derived from God, and bound upon our Consciences by his power; not by Man; he that saith it shall not bind the Conscience, saith it shall be no Law, it shall have no authority from God, and then it hath none at all; and if it be not tyed upon the Conscience, then to break it is no sin, and then to keep it is no duty. So that a Law without such an intention is a contradiction.

on. It is a Law ovely which binds if we please, and we may obey when we have a mind to it, and to so much we are tyed before the Constitution. But then if by such a Declaration it was meant, that to keep such Fasting-days was no part of a Direct Commandment from God, that is, God had not required them by himself immediately, and so it was abstracting from that Law no duty Evangelical, it had been below the Wisdom of the Contrivers of it, for no man pretends it, no man saith it, no man thinks it, and they might as well have declared that that Law was none of the ten Commandments; p. 59. of his first Book. So much pains does that learned Prelate of his, take (who ever he was) to prove a whole Parliament of England Coxcombs. Now I say that those Ecclesiastical Laws, with such Declarations concerning the Ceremonies by them enjoyned, might, *mutatis mutandis*, be taxed upon the same Topick. But I love not that task, & shall rather leave it to Mr. Bayes to paraphrase his learned Prelate. For he is very good at correcting the impertinence of Laws and
Law-

Lawgivers : and though this work indeed be not for his turn at present, yet it may be for the future. And I have heard a good Engineer say, That he never fortified any place so, but that he reserved a feeble point, by which he knew how to take it, if there were occasion.

I know a medicine for Mr. Bayes his Hichcough (it is but naming *7. O.*) but I cannot tell certainly, though I have a shrew'd guesse what is the cause of it. For indeed all his Arguments here are so abrupt and short, that I cannot liken them better, considering too that frequent and perpetual repetition. Such as this, *Why may not the Sovereign Power bestow this Priviledge upon Ceremony, as well as Use and Custom, by virtue of its prerogative ? What greater Immorality is there in them when determined by the Command and Institution of the Prince, than when by the consent and institution of the people ?* This the Tap-lash of what he said, p. 110. “When the Civil Magistrate takes upon him to determine any particular Forms of outward Wor-

"Worship, 'tis of no worse Consequence then if he should go about to define the signification of all words used in the Worship of God. And p. 108. of his first Book. " So that all the Magistrates power of instituting significant Ceremonies, &c. can be no more Usurpation upon the CONSCIENCES of Men, than if the Sovereign Authority should take upon it self, as some Princes have done, to define the signification of words. And afterwards : " The same gesture, and actions are indifferently capable of signifying either honour or contumely : and so words ; and therefore 'tis necessary their signification should be determined, &c. 'Tis all very well worth reading. P. 441. of his Second Book " 'Tis no other usurpation upon their Subjects Consciences than if he should take upon him to refine their Language, and determine the proper signification of all phrases employed in Divine Worship, as well as in Trades, Arts and Sciences. P. 146

of the same; " Once we will so far
 " gratifie the tendernesse of their Con-
 " sciences and curiosity of their Fan-
 " cies, as to promise never to ascribe
 " any other significancy to things than
 " what himself is here content to be-
 " stow upon words. And 462. of the
 same. " So that you see, my Compa-
 " rison between the signification of
 " Words and Ceremonies stands firm
 " as the Pillars of the Earth, and the
 " Foundations of our Faith. Mr. Bayes
 might, I see, have spared Sir Solomon's
 Sword of the Divine Institution of the
 Sacraments. Here is the terriblest wea-
 pon in all his Armory; and therefore
 I perceive, reserved by our Duellist for
 the last onset. And, I who am a great
 well-wisher to the Pillars of the Earth,
 or the eight Elephants, lest we should
 have an Earth-quake; and much more
 a Servant to the Kings Prerogative,
 lest we should all fall into confusion;
 and perfectly devoted to the Foundati-
 ons of our Faith, lest we should run out
 into Popery or Paganism; have no
heart to this encounter; lest if I should
prove

prove that the Magistrates absolute unlimited and uncontrollable Power doth not extend to define the signification of all words, I should thereby not only be the occasion of all those mischiefs mentioned, but, which is of far more dismal Importance, the losse of two or three so significant Ceremonies. But though I therefore will not dispute against that Flower of the Princes Crown, yet, I hope that without doing much harm, I may observe that for the most part they left it to the People, and seldom themselves exercised it. And even *Augustus Caesar*, though he was so great an Emperour, and so valiant a man in his own person, was used to fly from a new word though it were single, as studiously as a Mariner would avoid a Rock for fear of splitting. The difference of one Syllable in the same word hath made as considerable a Controversie as most have been in the Church, betwixt the *Homonians* and the *Homaianians*. One letter in the name of Beans in *Languedoc*, one party calling them *Faves*, and the other *Haves*,

as the tranposition onely of a Letter a
 another time in the name of a Goat, by
 some called *Crabe*, and by others *Cabre*,
 was the loss of more mens lives than
 the distinguishing but by an Aspiration
 in *Shiboleth* upon the like occasion. So
 that if a man would be learned im-
 pertinent, he might enlarge here to show
 that 'tis as dangerous to take a man by
 the tongue, as a Bear by the Tooth.
 And had I a mind to play the Politici-
 an, like Mr. *Bayes*, upon so pleasant
 and copious a Subject, I would demon-
 strate that though the imposition of Ce-
 remonies hath bred much mischief in
 the World, yet (shall I not venture
 too on a word once for tryal) such a
 Penetration or Transubstantiation of
 Language would throw all into Rebel-
 lion and Anarchy, would shake the
 Crowns of all Princes, and reduce the
 World into a second *Babel*. Therefore
 Mr. *Bayes* I doubt you were not well
 advised to make so close an Analogy
 betwixt imposing of significant words
 and significant Ceremonies; for I fear
 the Argument may be improved against
 you

you, and that Princes finding that of words so impracticable, and of ill consequence, will conclude that of Ceremonies to be no less pernicious. And the Nonconformists (who are great Traders, you know, in Scripture, and therefore thrown out of the Temple) will be certainly on your back. For they will appropriate your pregnant Text of, *Let all things be done decently and in order*; to Preaching or Praying in an unknown Tongue, which such an imposition of Words would be; and then, to keep you to your Similitude, they will say too, that yours are all Latine Ceremonies, and the Congregation does not understand them. But were not this Dominion of words so dangerous; (for how many millions of men did it cost your Roman Empire to attain it!) Yet it was very unmannerly in you to assign to Princes, who have enough beside, so mean a trouble. When you gave them leave to exercise the Priesthood in person, that was something to the purpose; That was both Honorable, and something

thing belongs to it that would have help'd to bear the charge. But this Mint of words will never quit cost, nor pay for the Coynage. This is such a drudgery ; that, rather than undergo it, I dare say, there is no Prince but would resign to you so Pedantical a Sovereignty. I cannot but think how full that Princes head must be of Proclamations. For, if he published but once a Proclamation to that purpose, he must forthwith set out another to stamp and declare the signification of all the words contained in it, and then another to appoint the meaning of all the words in this, and so on : that here is work cut out in one Paper of State for the whole Privy Council, both Secretaries of State, and all the Clerks of the Council for one Kings Reign, and *in infinitum*. But, I cannot but wonder, knowing how ambitious Mr. Bayes is of the power over words, and jealous of his own Prerogative of refining Language, how he came to be so liberal of it to the Prince : Why, the same thing that induced him to give the Prince a

power

power antecedent and independent to *Christ*, and to establish what Religion he pleased, &c. Nothing but his spite against the Non-conformists. I know not that thing in the World, except a Jest, that he would not part with to be satisfied in that particular. He hoped doubtless by holding up this Maxim, to obtain that the words of the Declaration of the 15th. *March* should be understood by contraries. You may well think he expected no less an equivalent, he would never else have permitted the Prince even to define the signification of all words used in the Worship of God, and to determine the proper signification of all Phrases employ'd in Divine Worship. Nay Mr. *Bayes*, if it be come to that, and you will surrender your Liturgy to the Prince, I know not what you mean for 'tis bound up with your Bible. Was it ever heard that that Book so sacred, and in which there could not one error be found by all the *Presbyterians* at the *Worster-House-Conference* should, upon so uncertain a prospect

he now abandon'd so far, as that every word and Phrase in it may receive a new and contrary signification ! But the King for ought I see likes it well enough as it is (and therefore I do so too). Yet in case His Majesty should ever think fit to reform it, and because such kind of work is usually refer'd back to some of the Clergy ? I would gladly put in a *Caveat*, that our Author may in no case be one of them. For 'tis known that Mr. *Bays* is subject to a distemper ; and who knows but when he is in a fit, as he made such mad alterations of the fruit of the Spirit in the Epistle for the day, he may as well insert in some other part of the *Service* *Welfare poor Macedo for a modest Fool*; and then, *Oh how I hug thee, Dear Heart, for this !* and pretend that the Supreme Magistrate should stamp upon it a signification sacred and serious. I would not have spoken so severely of him, but that his *more laboured periods*, as he calls them, are so often fill'd with much bolder and more unwholesome translations. But however that he may not
 at

at his better intervals be wholly unemployed in the work of Uniformity, I should recommend to him rather to turn the *Liturgie* and the *Rationale* into the Universal Language, and so in time the Whole World might come to be of his Parish.

When he was drawn thus low, did not he, think you, stand need of tilting? He had done much more service to the Cause, had he laid by all those cheating Argumentations, and dealt candidly, like the good Arch-Deacon not long since dead; who went about both Court and Countrey, preaching upon the *Cloke* *best at Throas*, and the *Books*, but especially the *Parchments*. The honest Man had found out there the whole Liturgy, the Canonical Habits, and all the Equipage of a Conformist. This was something to the matter in hand, to produce Apostolical Example and Authority: and much more to the purpose than that beaten Text of *doing all things decently and in order*.

One Argument I confesse remains still behind, and that will justifie any thing.

thing. 'Tis that which I call'd lately
Rationem ultimam Cleri; Force, Law,
 Execution, or what you will have it. I
 would not be mistaken, as though I here-
 by ment the body of the *English* Clergy,
 who have been ever since the Reforma-
 tion (I say it without disparagement to
 the Foreign Churches) of the Eminent-
 est for Divinity and Piety in all Chri-
 stendom. And as far am I from censu-
 ring, under this titie, the Bishop, of
England, for whose Function, their
 Learning, their Persons I have too deep
 a veneration to speak any thing of
 them irreverently. But those that I in-
 tend only, are a particular bran of per-
 sons who will in spite of Fate be ac-
 counted the Church of *England*, and to
 shew they are Pluralists, never write in
 a modest Stile than *We, We*; nay, even
 these, several of them, are Men of Parts
 sufficient to deserve a Rank among the
 Teachers & Governors of the Church.
 Onely what Bishop *Bramhal* saith of
Gregorius his defect in School Divinity;

Unum

Unum hoc maceror & doleo tibi deesse.

I may apply to their excesse and rigour in matter of Discipline. They want all consideration, all moderation in those things; and I never heard of any of them at any time, who, if they got into Power or Office, did ever make the least experiment or overture towards the peace of the Church and Nation they lived in. They are the *Politick Would-be's* of the Clergy. Not Bishops, but Men that have a mind to be Bishops, and that will not do any thing in the World to compasse it. And, though Princes have always a particular mark upon these Men, and value them no more than they deserve, yet I know not very well, or perhaps I do know, how it oftentimes happens that they come to be advanced. They are Men of a fiery nature that must always be uppermost, and so they may increase their own Splendor, care not though they set all on flame about them. You would think the same day that they

took

took up Divinity they divested themselves of Humanity, & so they may procure & execute a Law against the Non-conformists, that they had forgot the Gospel. They cannot endure that Humility, that Meekness, that strictness of Manners and Conversation, which is the true way of gaining Reputation and Authority to the Clergy? much less can they content themselves with the ordinary and comfortable provision that is made for the Ministry. But, having wholly calculated themselves for Preferment, and Grandeur, know or practise no other means to make themselves venerable but by Ceremony and Severity. Whereas the highest advantage of promotion is the opportunity of condescension, and the greatest dignity in our Church can but raise them to the Title of *Your Grace*, which is in the Latine *Vestra Clementia*. But of all these, none are so eager & virulent, as some, who having had relation to the late times, have got access to *Ecclesiastical Fortune*, and are resolved to make their best of her. For so,
of

of all Beasts, none are so fierce and cruel as those that have been taught once by hunger to prey upon their own kind; as of all Men, none are so inhumane as the *Canibals*. But whether this be the true way of ingratiating themselves with a generous & discerning Prince, I meddle not; nor whether it be an ingenuous practice towards those whom they have been formerly acquainted with: but whatsoever they think themselves obliged to for the approving of their new Loyalty, I rather commend. That which astonishes me, and only raises my indignation is, that of all sorts of Men, this kind of Clergy should always be, and have been for the most precipitate, brutish, and sanguinary Counsels. The former Civil War cannot make them wise, nor his Majesties Happy return, good natured; but they are still for running things up unto the same extreams. The softnesse of the Universities where they have been bred, the gentleness of Christianity in which they have been nurtured, hath

but

but exasperated their nature; and they seem to have contracted no *Idea* of wisdom, but what they learnt at School, the Pedantry of Whipping. They take themselves qualified to Preach the Gospel, and no less to intermeddle in affairs of State: Though the reach of their Divinity is but to Persecution, and an Inquisition is the height of their Policy.

And you, Mr. *Bayes*, had you lived in the days of *Augustus Caesar* (be not scandalized, for why may you not bring sixteen hundred years, as well as five hours into one of your *Plays*) would not you have made, think you, an excellent Privy Counsellour? His Father too was Murdered. Or (to come nearer both to our times, and your resemblance of the late War, which you trumpet always in the Ear of his Majesty) had you happen'd in the time of *Henry the fourth of France*, should not you have done well in the Cabinet? His Predecessor too was assassinated. No, Mr. *Bayes*, you would not have been for their purpose. They took o-

L

ther

their measures of Government, and accordingly it succeeded with them. And His Majesty, whose Genius hath much of both those Princes, and who derives half of the Blood in his Veins from the latter, will in all probability not be so forward to hearken to your advice as to follow their Example. For these Kings, Mr. *Bayes*, how negligent soever or ignorant you take 'em to be, have I doubt, a shrewd understanding with them. 'Tis a Trade, that God be thanked, neither you nor I are of, and therefore we are not so competent Judges of their Actions. I myself have often times seen them, some of them, do strange things, and unreasonable in my opinion, and yet a little while, or sometimes many years after, I have found that all the men in the world could not have contrived any thing better. 'Tis not with them as with you. You have but one Cure of Souls, or perhaps two, as being a Noblemans Chaplain, to look after: And if you make Conscience of discharging them as you ought, you would

would find you had work sufficient, without writing your *Ecclesiastical Policies*. But they are the Incumbents of whole Kingdoms, and the Rectors of the Common People, the Nobility, and even of the Clergy, whom you are prone to affirm, when possessed with principles that incline to rebellion and disloyal practises, to be of all Rebels the most dangerous, p. 49. The care I say of all these rests upon them. So that they are fain to condescend to many things for Peace-sake, and the quiet of Mankind, that your proud Heart would break before it would bend to. They do not think fit to require any thing that is impossible, unnecessary, or wanton, of their People; but are fain to consider the very temper of the Climate in which they live, the Constitution and Laws under which they have been formerly bred, and upon all occasions to give them good words, and humour them like Children. They reflect upon the Histories of former times, and the present Transactions to regulate themselves by in every kind

cumstance. They have heard that one of your *Roman* Emperours, when his Captain of the Life-Guard came for the Word, by giving it unhandsomely, received a Dagger. They observe how the Parliament of *Poland* will be their Kings Taylor, and among other reasons, because he would not wear their Mode, have suffer'd the *Turk* to enter, as coming nearer their Fashion. Nay, that even *Alexander* the *Great* had almost lost all he had Conquered by forcing his Subjects to conform to the *Persian* habit. That the King of *Spain*, when upon a Progress he enters *Biscay*, is pleased to ride with one Leg naked, and above all to take care that there be not any Bishop in his Retinue. So their People will pay their Taxes in good Gold and Silver; they demand no Subsidy of so many bushels of Fleas, lest they should receive the same answer with the Tyrant, that the Subject could not furnish that quantity, and besides they would be leaping out still before they could be measured, and should they fine the People for non-payment,

payment, they reckon there would be little got by distraining. They have been told that a certain Queen being desired to give a Town-Seal to one of her Cities, lighting from Horse, sat down naked on the Snow, and left them that Impression, and though it caused no disturbance, but all the Town-Leases are Letters-Patents; Kings do not approve the Example. That the late Queen of *Sweden* did her self no good with saying, *Io non voglio governar le Bestie*, but afterwards resigned, That the occasion of the revolt of *Switzerland* from the Emperour and its turning Commonwealth, was only the imposing of a Civil Ceremony by a Capricious Governour, who set up a Pole in the High-way with a Cap upon the top of it, to which he would have all Passengers be uncover'd, and do Obeysance. One sturdy *Swiss*, that would not Conform, thereupon overturn'd the Government, as 'tis at large in History. That the King of *Spain* lost *Flanders* chiefly upon introducing the Inquisition. And you

now Mr. *Bayes* will think these, and an hundred more that I could tell you, but idle stories, and yet Kings can tell how to make use of 'm. And hence 'tis that instead of assuming your unhoopable jurisdiction, they are so satisfied with the abundance of their power, that they rather think meet to abate of its exercise by their discretion. The greater their fortune is, they are content to use the less extravagancy. But because I see, Mr. *Bayes*, you are a little deaf on this ear, I will talk somewhat closer to you. In this very matter of Ceremonies, which you are so bent upon, that your mind is alwayes running on't, when you should be hearkning to the Sermon; do not you think that the King knows every word you said, although he never gave your Book the Reading? That you say, that the Clause *50. Eliz.* of the *Wednesday-Fast* has been the Original of all the Puritan Disorders. That the Controversie is now reduced only to two or three Symbolical Ceremonies. That these Ceremonies are things indifferent in their own nature, and

and have no antecedent necessity, but only bind as they are commanded. That they signifie nothing in themselves but what the Commander pleases. That the Church it self declares that there is nothing of Religion or Adoration in them. That they are no parts of Religious Worship. That they are only Circumstances. That the imposing of a significant Ceremony, is no more than to impose significancy upon a word. That there is not a word of any of these Ceremonies in the Scriptures. That they are in themselves of no great moment and consequence, but 'tis absolutely necessary that Government should injoyn them, to avoid the evil that would follow if they were not determined; And that there cannot be a Pin pull'd out of the Church, but the State immediately totters. Do not you think that the King has considered all these things? I believe he has; and perhaps, as you have minced the matter, he may well think the Nonconformists have very nice Stomachs, that they cannot digest such chopp'd Hay

But on the other side, he must needs take you to be very strange men, to cram these in spite down the throats of any Christian. If a man have an Antipathy against any thing, the Company is generally so Civil, as to refrain the use of it, however not to press it upon the Person. If a man be sick or weak the Pope grants a Dispensation from *Lent*, or Fasting days: Ay, and from many a thing that strikes deeper in his Religion. If one have got a cold, their betters will force them to be covered. There is no end of Similitudes: But I am led into them by your calling these Ceremonies Pins of the Church. It would almost tempt a Prince that is curious, and that is settled (God be praised) pretty fast in his Throne, to try for experiment, whether the pulling out of one of these Pins would make the State totter. But, Mr. *Bayes*, there is more in it. 'Tis matter of Conscience: And if Kings do, out of discretion, connive at the other infirmities of their People; If great persons do out of civility condescend to their Inferiours; and if all

men

men out of common humanity do yield to the weaker; Will your Clergy only be the men, who, in an affair of Conscience, and where perhaps 'tis you are in the wrong, be the only hard-hearted and inflexible Tyrants, and not only so, but instigate and provoke Princes to be the Ministers of your cruelty? But, I say, Princes, as far as I can take the height of things so far above me, must needs have other thoughts, and are past such Boys-play to stake their Crowns against your Pins. They do not think fit to command things unnecessary, and where the profit cannot countervail the hazard. But above all they consider, that God has instated them in the Government of Mankind, with that incumbrance (if it may so be called) of Reason, and that incumbrance upon Reason of Conscience. That he might have given them as large an extent of ground and other kind of cattle for their Subjects: But it had been a melancholy Empire, to have been only Supreme Grasiers and Sovereign Shepherds. And therefore, though the la-

ziness of that brutal Magistracy might have been more secure, yet the difficulty of this does make it more honourable. That men therefore are to be dealt with reasonably: and conscientious men by Conscience. That even Law is force, and the execution of that Law a greater Violence; and therefore with rational Creatures not to be used but upon the utmost extremity. That the Body is in the power of the mind; so that corporal punishments do never reach the offender, but the innocent suffers for the guilty. That the Mind is in the hand of God, and cannot correct those persuasions which upon the best of its natural capacity it hath collected: So that it too, though erroneous, is so far innocent. That the Prince therefore, by how much God hath indued him with a clearer reason, and by consequence with a more enlightened judgment, ought the rather to take heed lest by punishing Conscience, he violate not only his own, but the Divine Majesty. But as to that Mr. *Bayes*, which you still inculcate
of

of the late War, and its horrid Catastrophe, which you will needs have to be upon a religious account: 'Tis four and twenty Years ago, and after an *Act of Oblivion*; and for ought I can see, it had been as seasonable to have shown *Cesar's* bloody Coat, or *Thomas a Beckers* bloody Rochet. The chief of the offenders have long since made satisfaction to Justice; and the whole Nation hath been swept sufficiently of late years by those terrible scourges of Heaven: So that methinks you might in all this while have satiated your mischievous appetite. Whatsoever you suffered in those times, his Majesty who had much the greater loss, knowing that the memory of his Glorious Father will always be preserved, is the best Judge how long the Revenge ought to be pursued. But if indeed, out of your superlative care of his Majesty and your *Living*, you are afraid of some new Disturbance of the same nature, let me so far satisfy you as I am satisfied. The Nonconformists say that they are bound in
 Con-

Conscience to act as far as they can, and for the rest to suffer to the utmost. But because though they do mean honestly, 'tis so hard a Chapter for one that thinks himself in the right to suffer extremities patiently, that some think it impossible; I say next, that it's very seldom seen that in the same age, a Civil War, after such an interval, has been rais'd again upon the same pretences. But men are all so weary, that he would be knock'd on the head that should raise the first disturbance of the same nature. A new War must have, like a Book that would Sell, a new Title. I am asham'd, Mr. *Bayes*, that you put me on talking thus impertinently (for Policy in us is so) Therefore to be short, the King hath so indulged and oblig'd the Nonconformists by his mercy, that if there were any such Knave, there can be no such Fool among them, that would ever lift up an ill thought against him. And for you, Mr. *Bayes*, he is assured of your Loyalty, so that I think you may enjoy your *Living* very peaceably,

which I know is all your business.
 'Twas well replied of the *English* Man
 in *Edward* the *fourth's* time, to the
French man that ask'd him insulting;
 When they should see us there again?
When your sins are greater than ours.
 There are as many occasions of War,
 as there are Vices in a Nation: And
 therefore it concerns a Prince to be
 watchful on all hands. But should
 Kings remember an injury as long as
 you implacable Divines do, or should
 we take up Arms upon your Pecks, be-
 cause your Ecclesiastical Policy is an-
 swered, to revenge your quarrel, the
 World would never be at quiet. There-
 fore, Mr. *Bayes*, let all those things of
 former times alone, and mind your
 own business; for Kings, believe me,
 as they have Royal understandings, so
 have Gentlemen memories.

And now, Mr. *Bayes*, I think it is time
 to take my leave, having troubled you
 with so long a visit. Only before I
 quit this matter, because I do not
 love to be accounted singular in my opi-
 nion, I will add the Judgment of one
 Author,

Author, and that as pertinent as I could pick out to our purpose. I have observed that not only other Princes, but Queen *Elizabeth* too hath the misfortune to be much out of your favour. But for what reason I cannot possibly imagine; for none ever deserved better as to the thing of Uniformity, unless it be the ill luck she had to pass that *impertinent Clause* in the Act 50. *Eliz.* of the *Jejunium Cecilianum*. You cannot, for her sake, indure the Wit or Learning of Her times, but say, p. 94. of your second Book, *Though this trifling Artifice of sprinkling little fragments of Wit and Poetry might have passed for Wit and Learning in the days of Queen Elizabeth, yet to men of Learning, Reading and Ingenuity, their vulgar use has sullied their lustre, and abated their value.* This is indeed, Mr. Bayes, a very labour'd period, and prepared by you, I believe, on purpose as a model of the Wit and Eloquence of your dayes. But not only so, but p. 483. of the same Book, I think you call Her in derision and most spightfully and unmannerly, plain

Old

Old Elizabeth. And those that knew her humour, think you could not have disobligh'd her more than in styling her so; both as a Woman, which Sex never love to be thought Old, and as a Queen, who was jealous lest Men should therefore talk of the succession. Besides the irreverent Nick-name you give her, that you might as well have presumed to call her *Queen Best*, or *Bold Bettrice*. Now to the end that that Queen of famous Memory may have a little female revenge upon you, and to give you a taste of the Wit and Learning even of her times, I will sprinkle here one *Fragment*, which not being a *Scholar-like saying of ancient Poet or Philosopher*, but of a Reverend Divine, I hope, Mr. Bayes, may be less displeasing to you. The Man is *Parker*, not *Robert Parker*, who writ another Treatise of Ecclesiastical Policy, and the Book *de Cruce*, for which if they had catch'd him, he had possibly gone to the Gallows, or at least to the Gallies. For he was one of those well-meaning Zealots, that are of all Villains the
most

most dangerous. But it is the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, Parker (for if I named him before without addition, 'twas what I learnt of you speaking of *Whitgift*) He in his Book *de Antiquitatibus Ecclesie Britannicae*, p. 47. speaking of the slaughter of the Monks of *Bangor*, and so many Christians more, upon the instigation of *Austin* the Monk, who stirred up *Ethilbert* King of *Kent* against them, because they would not receive the Romish Ceremonies; useth these words: *Et sunt illa prima de Romanis Ritibus inducendis per Augustinum tunc excitata contentio, quæ non nisi clade & sanguine innocentium Britannorum poterat extingui; ad nostra recentiora tempora, cum mili pernicie eadeque Christianorum pervenit. Cum, enim illis gloriosis ceremoniis a pura Primitivæ Ecclesiæ simplicitate recesserunt, non de vita sanctitate, de Evangelii predicatione, de spiritus sancti vi & consolatione multum laborabant; sed novas indies altercationes de novis ritibus per Papas singulos, additis, qui minem tam excelso gradu dignum, qui*
aliquid,

aliquid, ceremoniosi non dicam, monstroſi inauditi & inuſitati non adiecisset; inſtituebant. Suggeſtaque & ſcholas fabulis rixisque ſuis implebant. Nam prima Eccleſia ſpecies ſimplicior & integro & interno Dei cultu, ab ipſo Verbo præſcripto, nec veſtibus ſplendidis, nec magnificis ſtructuris decorata, nec aure, argento, gemminisque fulgens fuit: Eſi liceat his exterioribus uti modo animum ab illo interiori & integro Dei cultu non abducant; Curioſis & moroſis ritibus ab illa primæva & recta ſimplicitate Evangelica degeneravit. Illa autem in Romana Eccleſia rituum multitudo ad immenſum illius magni Auguſtini Hipponenſis Episcopi temporibus creverat: ut queſtus ſit Chriſtianorum in Ceremoniis & ritibus durioſam tunc fuiſſe conditionem quam Iudeorum, qui etiamſi tempus Libertatis non agnouerint, legalibus tamen ſarcinis non humanis præſumptionibus ſubjiciebantur; nam paucioribus in diuino cultu quam Chriſtiani Ceremoniis utebantur. Qui ſi ſenſiſſet quantus deinde per ſingulos Papas coactatus cumulus acceſſit, inuodam Chriſtianum credo ipſe ſtatuiſſet; qui hoc malum

tunc in Ecclesia viderat. Videmus enim ab illa ceremoniarum contentione nedum Ecclesiam esse vacuum; quin homines alioquin docti atque p̄s de vestibus & huiusmodi nugis ad huc, rixoso magis & militari, quam aut philosophico aut Christiano more inter se digladiantur. These words do run so direct against the Genius of some men that contributed not a little to the late Rebellion, and, though so long since writ, do so exactly describe that evil spirit with which some men are even in these times possess'd, who seem desirous upon the same grounds to put all things in combustion, that I think them very well worth the labour of translating. [And indeed, that first contention then raised by *Augustine* about the introducing of the Romish Ceremonies; which could not be quenched but by the blood & slaughter of the innocent *Britans*; hath been continued e'n to our later times, with the like mischief and murder of Christians. For when once by those glorious Ceremonies they forsook the pure simplicity of the Primitive Church, they did not much trou-

trouble themselves about Holiness of Life, the preaching of the Gospel, the efficacy and comfort of the Holy Spirit: but they fell every day into new squabbles about new-fangled Ceremonies added by every Pope, who reckoned no man worthy of so high a degree but such as invented somewhat, I will not say Ceremonious, but monstrous, unheard of, and before unpractised; and they fill'd the Schools and the Pulpits with their Fables and brawling of such matters. For the first beauty of the Church had more of simplicity and plainness; and was neither adorned with splendid vestments, nor magnificent structures, nor shin'd with gold, silver and precious stones; but with the intire and inward worship of God, as it was by Christ himself prescribed. Although it may be lawful to use these external things, so they do not lead the mind astray from that more inward and intire Worship of God; by those curious and crabbed Rites it degenerated from that antient and right Evangelical Simplicity. But that multitude

titude of Rites in the Romish Church
 had unmeasurably increased in the
 times of that great *Augustine* the Bi-
 shop of *Hippo*, in so much that he com-
 plained that the condition of Christians
 as to Rites and Ceremonies, was then
 harder then that of the Jews; who al-
 though they did not discern the time of
 their Liberty, yet were onely subjected
 to Legal burthens, instituted first by
 God himself, not to humane Presump-
 tions. For they used fewer Ceremo-
 nies in the Worship of God than Chri-
 stians. Who, if he could have fore-
 seen how great a heap of them was
 afterwards piled up, and added by the
 several Popes, he himself doubtless
 would have restrained it within Christi-
 an measure, having already percieved
 this growing evil in the Church. For
 we see, that even yet the Church is not
 free from that contention: but men
 otherwise learned and pious, do still
 cut and slash about Vestments and such
 kind of trifles, rather in a swash-buck-
 ler and Hectoring way, than either like
 wise or like Christians.

Now, Mr. *Bayes*, I doubt you must be put to the trouble of writing another Preface against the Arch-bishop. For nothing in your Answerer's Treatise of *Evangelical Love* does so gird or aim at you, for ought I can see, or at those whom you call the Church of *England*, as this Passage. But the last period does so plainly delineate you to the life, that what St. *Austine* did not presage, the Bishop seems to have foreseen most distinctly. 'Tis just your way of writing all along in this matter. You bring nothing sound or solid. Only you think you have got the *Great Secret*, or the *Philosopher's Stone* of Railing, and I believe it, you have so multiplied in *Projection*: and as they into Gold, so you turn every thing you meet with into Railing. And yet the Secret is not great, nor the *Process* long or difficult, if a man would study it, and make a trade on't. Every Scold hath it naturally. It is but crying Whore first, and having the last word, and whatsoever others say, cry, Oh these are your Nonconformists

mist's tricks, Oh you have learnt this
 of the Puritans in *Grubstreet*. Oh you
 white-apron'd Gossip, For indeed, I
 never saw so provident a fetch: you
 have taken in before hand all the Posts
 of railing, and so beset all the Topicks
 of just crimination, foreseeing where
 you are feeble, that if this trick would
 pass, it were impossible to open ones
 mouth to finde the least fault with you.
 For in your first Chapter of your Se-
 cond Book, beside what you do alwaies
 in an hundred places when you are at a
 loss, you have spent almost an hundred
 pages upon a *Character of the Fanatick*
deportment toward all Adversaries. And
 then on the other side, you have so in-
 grossed and bought up all the ammu-
 nition of Railing, search'd every cor-
 ner in the Bible, and *Don Quixot* for
 Powder, that you thought, not unrea-
 sonably, that there was not one shot left
 for a Fanatick. But truth, you see,
 cannot want words: and she will laugh
 too sometimes when she speaks, and ra-
 ther than all fail too, be serious. But
 what will you say to that of the Arch-
 bishops,

bishops, than either like Philosophers or like Christians? For the excellency of your Logick, Philosophy, and Christianity in all your Books, is, either, as in Conscience, to take away the subject of the question, or, as in the Magistrate, having gotten one absurdity, to raise a thousand more from it. So that, except the manufacture and labour of your periods, you have done no more than my School-boy could have done on the same terms. And so, Mr. Bayes, Good night.

And now Good-morrow, Mr. Bayes; For though it seems so little a time, and that you are but now gone to bed, it hath been a whole live-long night, and you have toss'd up and down in many a troublesome dream, and are but just now awaked at the Title page of your book: *A Preface shewing what grounds there are of fears and jealousies of Popery.* It is something artificially couch'd, but looks, as if it did allow, that there are some grounds of fears and jealousies of that nature. But here he words it, *a Consideration what likelihood, or how much danger*

danger there is of the return of Popery into this Nation. Had he not come to this at last, I should have thought I had been all this while reading a Chapter in *Montague's Essayes*; where you finde sometimes scarce one word in the discourse of the matter held forth in the Title. But now indeed he takes up this Argument, and debates it to purpose. For I had before begun to shew that he had writ not only his two former Books, but especially too this Preface, with an evil eye and aim at his Majesty, and the measures he had taken of Government. And whoever will take the pains to read here, will soon be of my mind. His Majesty had I said, the 15th. of *March* 1671. issued his Declaration of Indulgence to tender Consciences. He, on the contrary, issues out thereupon, all in haste and as fast as he could write, this his Remonstrance or Manifesto against Indulgence to tender Consciences: and to make his Majesties proceedings more odious, stirs up this seditious matter of what probability there is of Popery.

And

And this he discourſes, to be ſure, in his own imagination very cunningly. For he knows that there was an Act of Parliament in this Kings Reign with a greater penalty than that of 50. *Eliz.* of ſpreading falſe News, againſt Reports of this Nature. And therefore, he reſolves to handle it ſo warily, that he himſelf might eſcape, but might draw others that ſhould answer him, within the danger of that Act, and that he might lay the crime at their doors. But, notwithstanding all his ſlights and *Legerdemain*, it doth enough detect his malice and ill intention to his Majesties Government, that he ſhould take this occaſion, altogether Foreign and unſeaſonable, to raiſe a publick and ſolemn Diſcourſe through the whole Nation, concerning a matter the moſt odious and dangerous that could be Expoſed. So that now, no man can look at the Wall, no man can paſs by a Bookſellers Stall, but he muſt ſee *A Preface ſhewing what GROUNDS there are for FEARS and JEALOUSIES of POPERY.*

It

It had been something a safer and more dutiful way of writing a Preface shewing the CAUSELESSNESS of the Fears and Jealousies of POPERY. For I do not think it will excuse a Witch, to say, That she conjured up a Spirit only that she might lay it. Nor can there be a more dexterous and malicious way of calumny, than by making an needless Apology for another, in a criminal Subject. As, suppose I should write a Preface shewing what Grounds there are of Fears and Jealousies of *Bayes* his being an Atheist. But this is exactly our Author's method and way of contrivance; whereby, more effectually by far than by any flying Coffee-house tattle, he traduces the State, and by Printing so pernicious a question, fills all mens mouths, and beats out all mens eyes with the probability of the return of POPERY. Had he heard any that malignly and officiously talk'd to such a purpose, it had been the part of one so prudent as he is, not to have continued the Discourse. Had he (as he hath a great

gift that way) pick'd up out of any mans talk or writing, matter whereof to make an ill story; there was a better and more regular way of proceeding, had he meant honestly to his Majesties Government, to have prevented the evil, and to have brought the offender to punishment. He should have gone to one of the Secretaries of State, or to some other of his Majesties Privy Council, and have given them Information. But in stead of that, I am afraid that in the survey of this business, we shall find, that even some of them are either accused, or shrowdly mark'd out with a Character of our Authors displeasure. Therefore, I will now come nearer to his matter in hand, although it concerns me to be careful of coming too near, nor shall I dwell too long upon so jealous and impertinent a Subject.

To consider what likelihood, or how much danger there is of the return of Popery into this Nation. The very first word is; For my part, I know none. Very well considered. Why then, Mr. Bayes, I

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must

must tell you, that if I had Printed a Book or Preface upon that Argument, I should have thought my self at least a Fool for my labour. The next considerer is mine Enemy; I mean he is an Enemy to the State, whoever shall foment such Discourses without any likelihood or danger. Yet, Mr. Bayes, you know, I have for a good while had no great opinion of your Integrity; neither here. I doubt you prevaricate a little with some body. For, I suppose you cannot be ignorant that some of your Superiours of your Robe did, upon the publishing that Declaration, give the Word, and deliver Orders through their Ecclesiastical Camp, to beat up the Pulpit Drums against Popery. Nay, even so much that there was care taken too for arming the poor Readers, that though they came short of Preachers in point of efficacy, yet they might be enabled to do something in point of common Security. So that, though for so many years, those your Superiours had forgot there was any such thing in the Nation as a Popish Recruit, though

Polemical and Controversal Divinity had for so long been hung up in the Halls, like the rusty obsolete Armour of our Ancestors, for monuments of Antiquity; and for derision rather than service; all on a sudden (as if the 15th. of *March* had been the 5th. of *November*) happy was he that could climb up first to get down one of the old Cuirasses, or an Habergeon that had been worn in the dayes of *Queen Elizabeth*. Great variety there was, and an heavy doo. Some clapp'd it on all rusty as it was, others fell of oyling and furnishing their Armour: Some piss'd in their Barrels, others spit in their pans, to scowr them. Here you might see one put on his Helmet the wrong way: There one buckle on a Back in place of a Breast. Some by mistake catched up a Socinian or Arminian Argument, and some a Popish to fight a Papist. Here a Dwarf lost in the accoutrements of a Giant: There a *Don-Quixot* in an equipage of differing pieces, and of several Parishes. Never was there such Incongruity and Nonconformity in their

Furniture. One ran to borrow a Sword of Calvin. This man for a Musket from *Beza*: That for a Bandaleers even from *Keckerman*. But when they came to seek for Match, and Bullet, and Powder, there was none to be had: The Fanatics had bought it all up, and made them pay for it most unconscionably, and through the nose. And no less sport was it to see their Leaders. Few could tell how to give the word of Command, nor understood to drill a Company: They were as unexpert as their Soldiers awkward: And the whole was as pleasant a spectacle, as the exercising of the Train'd-bands in —shire. But, Mr. *Bayes*, (for I believe you do nothing but upon common advice) either this was all intended but for a false alarm, and was only for a pretence to take arms against the Fanatics (which you might have done without raising all this din and obloquy against the State, and disquieting his Majesties good Subjects:) or else you did really think (and who can help misapprehensions?) That you did know some likelihood or danger

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ger of the return of Popery. I crave you mercy, Mr. Bayes, I took you a little short. *For my part I know none, you say, but the Nonconformists boisterous and unreasonable opposition to the Church of England.*

This I confess hath some weight in it. For truly before *I knew none* too. I was of your Opinion, Mr. Bayes, and believed that Popery could never return into *England* again, but by some very smifter accident. This expreffion of mine is something uncouth, and therefore because I love to give you fatisfaction in all things, Mr. Bayes, I will acquaint you with my reason of using it. *Henry the fourth of France*, his Majesties Grandfather, lived (you know) in the days of *Queen Elizabeth*. Now the Wit of *France* and *England*, as you may have observed, is much of the same mode, and hath at all times gone much after the same current Rate and Standard; only there hath been some little difference in the Alloy, and advantage or disadvantage in the Exchange according to mens occasions. Now *Henry the fourth*, was (you know

.00) a Prince like Bishop Bramhall, of a brave and enterprising temper, and had a mind large and active enough to have managed the Roman Empire at its utmost extent; and particularly (as far as the prejudice of the age (Old Elfish Age) would permit him) he was very Wittie and Facetious, and the Courtiers strove to humour him always in it, and increase the mirth. So one night after Supper he gave them a Subject (which recreation did well enough in those times, but were now insipid) upon which, like Boyes at *Westminster*, they should make a *French Verse* extempore. The Subject was, *Un Accident sinistre*. Straight answers, I know not whether 'twas *Bassompierre*, or *Obigne*:

Un sinistre Accident & un Accident sinistre;

De veoir un Pere Capuchin chevaucher un Ministre.

For when I said, to see Popery return here, would be a very sinister accident; I was just thinking upon that story; the

the Verses, to humour them
on, being only this,

*O what a trick unlucky, and how un-
lucky a trick,*

*To see friend Doctor Patrick bestrid
by Father Patrick!*

Which seem'd to me would be the most
improbable and preposterous spectacle
that ever was seen; and more ridicu-
lous for a sight, than the *Friendly Debate*
is for a Book. And yet if Popery come
in, this must be and worse.

But now I see there is some danger
by the Nonconformists opposition to
the Church of *England*. And now
your business is all fixed. The Fana-
ticks are ready at hand to bear the
blame of all things. Many a good job
have I seen done in my time upon
pretence of the Fanaticks. I do not
think Mr. *Bayes* ever breaks his shins,
but it is by stumbling upon a Fana-
tick. And how shall they bring in Po-
pery? Why thus, three ways. *First,*
By creating disorders and disturbances in

M 5

State,

the State. Secondly, By the assistance of Atheism and Irreligion. Thirdly, By joining with crafty and Sacrilegious Statesmen in confederacy. Now here I remark two things. One, that however you do not find that the Fanaticks are inclinable to Popery, only they may accommodate it by creating disturbances in the State. Another is, that I see these Gentlemen, the Fanaticks, the Atheists, and the Sacrilegious Statesmen are not yet acquainted; but you have appointed them a meeting (I believe it must be at your Lodgings, or no where;) and I hope you will treat them handsomly. But I think it was not so wisely done, nor very honestly, Mr. Bayes, to lay so dangerous a plot as this; and instruct men that are strangers yet to one another, how to contrive together such a Conspiracy. But first to your first.

The Fanaticks, you say, may probably raise disturbance in the State. For they are so little friends to the present Government, that their enmity to that is one of the main grounds of their quarrel to the Church.

But now, though I must confess it is very much to your purpose, if you could perswade men so, I think you are clear out, and misrepresent here the whole matter. For I know of no enmity they have to the Church it self, but what it was in her power always to have remedied, and so it is still. But such as you it is that have always strove by your leasings, to keep up a strangeness and misunderstanding betwixt the King and his people; and all the mischief hath come on't, does lie much at your door. Whereas they, as all the rest of Man-kind, are men for their own ends too: And no sooner hath the King shown them this late favour, but you, Mr. *Bayer*, and your partners reproach them for being too much friends to the Prerogative. And no less would they be to the Church, had they ever at any age in any time found her in a treatable temper. I know nothing they demand, but what is so far from doing you any harm, that it would only make you better. But that indeed is the harm, that is the thing you are
afraid

afraid of. Here our Author divides
 the Discourse into a great Elogy of the
 Church of *England*; that if he were
 making her Funeral Sermon, he could
 not say more in her commendation;
 and a contrary invective against the
 Nonconformists, upon whom (as if all
 he had said before had been nothing) he
 unloads his whole Leystal, and dresseth
 them up all in *Sambenitas*, painted with
 all the flames and Devils in Hell, to be
 led to the place of Execution, and there
 burnt to ashes. Nevertheless I find on
 either side only the natural effect of such
 Hyperboles and Oratory, that is, not
 to be believed. The Church of *Eng-
 land* (I mean as it is by Law establish-
 ed, lest you should think I equivocate)
 hath such a stock of solid and deser-
 ved reputation, that it is more than
 you (Mr. *Bayes*) can spoil or deface by
 all the Pedantry of your commendati-
 on. Only there is that party of the
 Clergy, that I not long ago described,
 and who will alwayes presume to be
 the only Church of *England*, who have
 been a perpetual Eye-sore, that I may

not say a Canker and Gangreen in so perfect a beauty. And, as it joyes my heart to hear any thing well said of her; so, I must confess, it stirs my choler, when I hear those men pride and boast themselves under the Mask of her Authority. Neither did I therefore approve of an expression you here use: *The Power of Princes would be a very precarious thing without the assistance of Ecclesiasticks, and all Governments do's and must owe its quiet and continuance to the Churches Patronage.* That is as much as to say, That but for the assistance of your Ecclesiastical Policy, Princes might go a begging: And that the Church, that is you, have the *ius patronatus* of the Kingdom, and may present whom you think fitting to the Crown of England. This is indeed something like the return of Popery; and right

*Petra dedit Petro, Petrus Diadema
Rudolpho.*

The Crown were surely well held up,
if it were to be held at your convenience,

ence, and the Emperour must lead the Patriarchs As all his life-time. And little better do I like your *We may rest satisfied in the present Security of the Church of England, under the protection of a wise and gracious Prince: especially when besides the impregnable confidence that we have from his own Inclination, it is so manifest, that he never can forsake it either in Honour or Interest.* This is a pretty way of cokesing indeed, while you are all this while cutting the grass under his feet, and animating the people against the exercise of his Ecclesiastical Supremacy. Men are not so plain-hearted, but they can see through this oblique Rhetorication and Sophistry. If there be no danger in his time of taking a *Pin out of the Church* (for that it is you intend) why do you then speak of it in his time, but that you mean mischief? But here you do not only mow the grass under his feet, but you take the pillow from under his head. *But should it ever happen that any King of England should be prevaild with to deliver up the Church, he had as good*

good at the same time resign up his Crown. This is pretty plain dealing, and you have doubtless secur'd hereby that Princes Favour: I should have thought it better Courtship in a Divine, to have said, O King, Live for ever. But I see, Mr. *Bayes*, that you and your Partners are very necessary men, and it were dangerous disobliging you. But as in this imprudent and nauseous discourse, you have all along appropriated or impropriated all the Loyalty from the Nobility, the Gentry and the Commonalty, and dedicated it to the Church; So, I doubt, you are a little too immoderate against the Body of the Nonconformists. You represent them to a man, to be all of them of Republican Principles, most pestilent, and, *eo nomine*, enemies to Monarchy; Traytors and Rebels; such miscreants as never were in the world before, and fit to be pack'd out of it with the first Convenience. And, I observe, that all the Argument of your Book is but very frivolous and trivial: Only the memory of the late War serves for demonstration,

monstration, and the detestable sentence and Execution of his late Majesty, is represented again upon the Scaffold, and you having been, I suspect, better acquainted with Parliament Declarations formerly upon another account, do now apply and turn them all over to prove that the late War was wholly upon a Fanatical Cause, and the dissenting party do still go big with the same Monster. I grew hereupon much displeased with my own ignorance of the occasion of those Troubles so near our own times, and betook my self to get the best Information concerning them, to the end that I might, if it appear'd so, decline the dangerous acquaintance of the Nonconformists, some of whom I had taken for honest men, nor therefore avoided their Company. But I took care nevertheless, not to receive Impressions from any of their Party; but to gather my Lights from the most impartial Authorities that I could meet with. And, I think, I am now partly prepared to give you, Mr Bayes, some better satisfaction in this matter.

matter. And because you are a dangerous person, I shall as little as possible, say any thing of my own, but speak too before good Witnesses. First of all therefore, I will without farther Ceremony, fall upon you with the but-end of another Arch-bishop. 'Tis the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, *Abbot*, in the Narrative under his own hand concerning his disgrace at Court in the time of his late Majesty. I shall onely in the way demand excuse, if, contrary to my fashion, the names of some eminent persons in our Church long since dead, be reviv'd here under no very good character; and most particularly that of Archbishop *Land*, who, for nothing else, yet for his learned Book against *Fisher*, deserved far another Fate than he met with, and ought not now to be mentioned without due honour. But those names having so many years since escaped the Press, it is not in my power to conceal them; and I believe Archbishop *Abbot* did not write but upon good Consideration.

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This I have premised for mine own Satisfaction, and I will add one thing more, Mr. *Bayes*, for yours. That whereas the things now to be alledged relate much to some Impositions of Money in the late King's time, that were carryed on by the Clergy; I know you will presently be ready to carp at that, as if the Nonconformists had, and would be alwaies enemies to the Kings supply. Whereas, Mr. *Bayes*, if I can do the Nonconformists no good, I am resolv'd I will do them no harm, nor desire that they should lye under any imputation on my account. For I write by mine own advice, and what I shall alledge concerning the Clergies intermeddling with supplies, is upon a particular aversion, that I have upon good reason, against their disposing of our Money. And, Mr. *Bayes*, I will acquaint you with the Reason, which is this; 'Tis not very many years ago that I used to play at *Picket*; And in there was a Gentleman of your robe, *Dignitary of Lincoln*, very well known and remembred in the Ordinaries, being wa

being not long since dead, I will save his name. Now I used to play *Pieces*, and this Gentleman would alwayes go half a Crown with me, and so all the while he sat on my hand, he very honestly gave the Sign, so that I was alwaies sure to lose. I afterwards discovered it, but of all the money that ever I was echeated of in my life, none ever vexed me so, as what I lost by his occasion. And ever since, I have born a great grudge against their fingring of any thing that belongs to me. And I have been told, and shew'd the place where the man dwelt in the late King's time near *Hampton Court*, that there was one that used to rob on the highway, in the habit of a Bishop, and all his fellows rid too in Canonical Coats. And I can but fancy how it madded those, that would have perhaps been content to relieve an honest Gentleman in distress, or however would have been less griev'd to be robb'd by such an one, to see themselves so *Episcopally* pillaged. Neither must it be less displeasing alwaies to the Gentry and Commonalty of

of *England*, that the Clergy (as you do Mr. *Bayes*) should tell them that they are never *sui Juris*, not only as to their Consciences, but even as to their Pur-ses; and you should pretend to have this *power of the Keyes* too, where they lock their Money. Nay, I dare almost aver upon my best observation, that there never was, nor ever will be a Par-liament in *England*, that could or can refuse the King supplies proportiona-ble to his occasions, without any need of recourse to extraordinary wayes; but to the pickthankness of the Cler-gy, who will alwaies presume to have the thanks and honour of it, nay, and are ready always to obstruct the Par-liamentary Aids, unless they may have their own little Project pass too into the bargain, and they may be gratified with some new *Ecclesiastical Power*, or some new Law against the *Fanaticks*. This is the naked truth of the matter. Whereas *English* men alwayes love to see how their money goes, and if there be any interest or profit to be got by it to receive it themselves. Therefore Mr.

Bayes

Bayes I will go on with my business, not fearing all the mischief that you can make of it.

‘There was, *saieth he*, one *Sibthorp*, who not being so much as Bachelor of Arts, by the means of Doctor *Pierce* Vice-Chancellor of *Oxford*, got to be conser’d upon him the Title of Doctor. This Man was Vicar of *Brackley* in *Northamptonshire*, and hath another Benefice. This Man preaching at *Northampton*, had taught, that Princes had power to put all Poll-money upon their Subjects Heads. He being a Man of a low fortune, conceiv’d the putting his Sermon in Print might gain favour at Court, and raise his fortune higher. It was at the same time that the business of the Loan was on foot. In the same Sermon, he called that Loan a Tribute, Taught that the Kings duty is first to direct and make Laws. That nothing may excuse the subject from active obedience, but what is against the Law of God or Nature, or impossible; that all Antiquity was absolutely for absolute

' obedience in all civil and temporal
 ' things. And the imposing of Poll-
 ' monie by Princes, he justifi'd out of St.
Matthew: And, in the matter of the
Loan, What a Speech is this, saith
 the Bishop, he observes the forwardness
 of the Papists to offer double. For this
 Sermon was sent to the Bishop from
 Court, and he required to Licence it,
 not under his Chaplains, but his own
 hand. But he, not being satisfi'd of
 the Doctrine deliver'd, sent back his
 reasons why he thought not fit to give
 his approbation; and unto these Bilhop
Land, who was in this whole business,
 and a rising Man at Court, under-
 took an answer. ' His life in Oxford,
 ' saith Arch-Bishop *Abbot*, was to pick
 ' quarrels in the Lectures of publick
 ' Readers, and to advertise them to the
 ' Bishop of *Durham*, that he might fill the
 ' Ears of King *James* with discontent
 ' against the honest men that took pain
 ' in their places, and settled the Truth
 ' (which he call'd Puritanism) in their
 ' Auditors. He made it his work to
 ' see what Books were in the Press

' and to look over Epistles Dedicatory,
 ' and Prefaces to the Reader, to see
 ' what faults might be found. 'Twas
 ' an observation what a sweet Man this
 ' was like to be, that the first obser-
 ' vable act he did, was the marrying of
 ' the Earl of *D.* to the Lady *R.* when she
 ' had another Husband a Nobleman,
 ' and divers Children by him. Here
 he tells how, for this very cause, King
James would not a great while endure
 him, till he yielded at last to Bishop
Williams his opportunity, whom not-
 withstanding he straight drove to un-
 dermine, and did it at last to purpose :
 ' For, saith the Archbishop, verily
 ' such is his undermining nature, that
 ' he will under-work any Man in the
 ' World, so that he may gain by it. *He*
 ' *call'd in the Bishop of Durham, Roche-*
 ' *ster, and Oxford, tryed men for such*
 ' a purpose, to the answering of my
 ' Reasons, and the whole stile of the
 ' Speech, runs We, We. In my me-
 ' mory, Doctor *Haynes* then Bishop of
 ' *Chichester*, and now of *Norwich* (as he
 ' came afterward to the Arch-bishop of
 ' York)

'York) preached at White-Hall up-
 'on, *Give unto Caesar the things that are*
 'Caesars; a Sermon that was afterwards
 'burned, teaching that Goods and
 'Money were Caesars, and so the Kings:
 'Whereupon King *James* told the
 'Lords and Commons that he had
 'failed in not adding according to the
 'Laws and Customs of the Countrey
 'wherein they did live. But *Sibthorp*
 'was for absolutely absolute. So that if
 'the King had sent to me for all my
 'Money and Goods, and so to the
 'Clergy, I must by *Sibthorps* proporti-
 'on sent him all. If the King should
 'send to the City of *London* to command
 'all their wealth, they were bound to
 'do it. I know the King is so graci-
 'ous he will attempt no such matter;
 'but if he do it not, the defect is not
 'in these flattering Divines. Then
 'he saith, reflecting again upon
 'the Loan which *Sibthorp* called a Tri-
 'bute. 'I am sorry at heart, the King's
 'Gracious Majesty should rest so great a
 'Building on so weak a Foundation, the
 'the Treatise being so slender, and
 'with

' without substance, but that proceeded
 ' from an hungry Man. Then he
 speaks of his own case as to the licen-
 sing of his Book, in parallel to the Earl
 of *Essex* his divorce, which to give it
 more authority, *was to be ratified judi-*
cially by the Arch-bishop. He concludes
 how finally he refused his approbation
 to this Sermon, and saith, ' It was
 ' thereupon carried to the Bishop of
 ' *London*, who gave a great and stately
 ' allowance of it, the good Man not be-
 ' ing willing that any thing should stick
 ' with him that came from Court, as
 ' appears by a Book commonly called
 ' the seven Sacraments, which was al-
 ' lowed by his Lordship with all the
 ' errors, which have been since ex-
 ' purged. And he adds a pretty sto-
 ry of one Doctor *Worral*, the Bishop of
 London's Chaplain, Scholar good enough,
 but a free fellow-like man, and of no ve-
 ry tender Conscience, who before it was
 Licensed by the Bishop, *Sibthorps* Ser-
 mon being brought to him, hand over
 head approved it, and subscribed his name.
 But afterwards hearing more of it, went

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to

to a Counsel at the *Temple*, who told him, that by that Book, *there was no Meam or Tuam left in England, and if ever the Tide turn'd he might come to be hang'd for it*, and thereupon *Worall* seraped out his name again, and lest it to his Lord to License. Then the Arch-bishop takes notice of the instructions for that Loan. 'Those that refused to be sent for Souldiers to the King of *Denmark*. Oaths to be administered with whom they had conference; and who dissuaded them, such persons to be sent to prison, &c. He saith that he had complain'd thrice of *Mountagues* Arminian-Book to no purpose: *Cosins* put out his Book of seven Sacraments (strange things) but I knew nothing of it, but as it pleased my Lord of *Durnam* & the Bp. of *Bath*, so it went. In conclusion, the good Arch-bishop for refusing this License of *Sibthorps* Sermons, was, by the underworking of his adversaries, commanded from *Lambeth*, and confined to his house in *Kent*, and afterwards

terwards sequestred, and a Commission passed to exercise the Archiepiscopall Jurisdiction to the Bishops of *London, Durham, Rochester, Oxford,* and *Bishop Land* (who from thence arose in time to be the Arch-bishop.) If I had leisure, how easy a thing it were for to extract out of the Narrative a just parallel of our Author, even almost upon all points? but I am now upon a more serious subject, and therefore shall leave the Application to his own ingenuity, and the good intelligence of the Reader.

About the same time (for I am speaking within the circle of 20, 30 and 40. *Caroli*) that this Book of *Sibthorps*, called *Apostolical Obedience*, was printed, there came out another of the same stamp, intituled *Religion and Allegiance* by one Doctor *Manwaring*. It was the substance of two Sermons preached by him at *Whitehall*, beside what of the same nature at his own Parish of *Saint Giles*. Therein he delivered for truth, 'That the King is not bound to observe
'the Laws of the Realm concerning

' the Subjects rights and liberties, but
 ' that his Royal word and command in
 ' imposing Loans and Taxes without
 ' common consent in Parliament, does
 ' oblige the Subjects Conscience upon
 ' pain of eternal Damnation. That
 ' that those who refused to pay this Loan
 ' offended against the Law of God, and
 ' the Kings supream Authority, and be-
 ' came guilty of Impiety, Disloyalty,
 ' and Rebellion. That the Authority
 ' of Parliament was not necessary for
 ' the raising of Aids and Subsidies, and
 ' the slow proceedings of such great As-
 ' semblies were not fitted for the sup-
 ' ply of the States urgent necessities,
 ' but would rather produce sundry im-
 ' pediments to the just designs of Prin-
 ' ces. And after he had been questi-
 ' oned for this Doctrine, nevertheless he
 ' preached again, ' That the King had
 ' right to order all as to him should
 ' seem good, without any mans consent.
 ' That the King might in time of ne-
 ' cessity demand Aid, and if the Sub-
 ' ject did not supply him, the King
 ' might justly avenge it. That the
 ' Pro-

* Propriety of Estate and Goods was ordinarily in the subject, but extraordinarily, in the King: that in case of the King's need, he hath right to dispose of them. He had besides, entering into comparison, called the refusers of the Lo in Temporal Recusants, and said, the same disobedience that they (the Papists as they then called them) practise in spirituals, that or worse, some of our side, if ours they be, dare to practise in temporals. And he aggravated further upon them under the resemblance of *Turks, Jews, Corah, Dathan* and *Abiram*. Which last, said he, might as well liken themselves to the three Children, or *Thendas* and *Judas*, the two Incendiaries in the daies of *Cesar's* tribute, might as well pretend their Cause to be like that of the *Maccabees*, as what the Refusers alleged in their own defence.

I should not have been so large in these particulars, had they been onely single and volatile Sermons, but because this was then the Doctrine of those persons that pretended to be the

Church of *England*. The whole Quire sung that Tune, and in stead of the Common Law of *England*, and the Statutes of Parliament, that part of the Clergy had invented these *Ecclesiastical Laws*, which according to their predominancy, were sure to be put in execution. So that between their own Revenue, which must be held *Jure Divino*, as every thing else that belong'd to them, and the Prince's that was *Jure Regio*, they had not left an inch of propriety for the Subject. It seem'd that they had granted themselves *Letters of Reprisal* against the Laity, for the losses of the Church under *Henry the Eight*, and that they would make a greater havock upon their Temporalities in retaliation. And indeed, having many times since ponder'd with my greatest and earnest impartiality, what could be the true reason of the spleen that they manifested in those daies, on the one hand against the *Puritans*, and on the other against the *Gentry*, (for it was come, they tell me, to *Jack Gentleman*.) I could not devise any cause,

cause, but that the Puritans had ever since the Reformation, obstructed that laziness and splendor, which they enjoyed under the Popes Supremacy, and the Gentry had (sacrilegiously) divided the *Abby-Lands*, and other fat morsels of the Church at the Dissolution, and now was the time to be revenged on them.

While therefore the Kingdom was turned into a Prison, upon occasion of this *Ecclesiastical Loan*, and many of the eminentest of the Gentry of *England* were under restraint, they thought it seasonable to recover once again their antient Glory, and to *Magnificat* the Church with triumphal Pomp and Ceremony. The three Ceremonies that have the Countenance of Law, would not suffice, but they were all upon new Inventions, and happy was he that was endued with that capacity, for he was sure before all others to be preferred. There was a *Second Service*, the *Table* set *Altar-wise*, and to be called the *Altar*, *Candles*, *Crucifixes*, *Paintings*, *Imagery*, *Copes*, bowing to the *East*, bowing

to the *Altar*, and so many several Cringes & Genuflexions, that a man unpractised stood in need to entertain both a Dancing-Master and a Remembrancer. And though these things were very uncouth to *English* Protestants, who naturally affect a plainness of fashion, especially in sacred things; yet, if those Gentlemen could have contented themselves with their own Formalitie, the Innovation had been more excusable. But many of these Additions, and to be sure, all that had any colour of Law, were so imposed and prest upon others, that a great part of the Nation was e'n put as it were to fine and ransom upon this account. What Censures, what Excommunications, what Deprivations, what Imprisonments? I cannot represent the misery and desolation, as it hath been represented to me. But wearied out at home, many thousands of his Majesties Subjects, to his and the Nations great loss, thought themselves constrained to seek another habitation, and every Countrey, even though it were among Savages and Caniballs,

appear'd more hospitable to them than their own.

And, although I have been told by those that have seen both, that our Church did even *then* exceed the *Romish* in Ceremonies and Decorations; and indeed, several of our Church did thereby frequently mistake their way, and from a *Popish* kind of Worship, fell into the *Roman Religion*; yet I cannot upon my best judgment believe, that that party had generally a design to alter the Religion so far, but rather to set up a new kind of *Papacy* of their own here in *England*. And it seemed they had, to that purpose, provided themselves of a new Religion in *Holland*. It was *Arminianism* which though it were the *Republican* Opinion there, and so odious to King *James*, that it helped on the death of *Bar. evelt*, yet now they undertook to accommodate it to Monarchy and Episcopacy. And the choice seemed not imprudent. For on the one hand, it was removed at so moderate a distance from *Popery*, that they should not disoblige the *Papists* more than

formerly, neither yet could the *Pari-*
ans, with justice reproach these men,
as *Romish Catholicks*; and yet, on the
other hand, they knew it was so con-
trary to the antient reformed Doctrine
of the Church of *England*, that the *Pu-*
ritans would never imbrace it, and so
they should gain this pretence further
to keep up that convenient and neces-
sary Quarrel against Non-conformity.
And accordingly it happened, so that
here again was a new *Shiboleth*. And
the *Calvinists* were all studiously dis-
countenanced, and none but an *Armi-*
nian was judg'd capable and qualified
for employment in the Church. And
though the King did declare, as I have
before mentioned, that *Mountague's*
(*Arminian*) Book had been the occasion
of the Schisms in the Church; yet care
was immediately taken by those of the
same robe and party, that he should
be the more rewarded and advanced.
As also it was in *Manwaring's* Case:
who though by Censure in Parliament
made incapable of any Ecclesiastical
preferment, was straight made Rector
of

of *Stamford-Rivers* in *Essex*, with a Dispensation to hold too his Living in *St. Giles's*. And all dexterity was practised to propagate the same Opinions, and to suppress all Writings or Discourses to the contrary.

So that those who were of understanding in those dayes tell me, that a man would wonder to have heard their kind of preachings. How in stead of the practical Doctrine which tends to the reforming of Mens Lives and Manners, all their Sermons were a very Mask of *Arminian* Subtilties, of Ceremonies, and Decency, and of *Mannerism*, and *Sibthorpianism* brew'd together; besides that in their conversation they thought fit to take some more licence, the better to *dis-Ghibelise* themselves from the *Puritans*. And though there needed nothing more to make them unacceptable to the sober part of the Nation, yet moreover they were so exceeding *pragmatical*, so intolerably ambitious, and so desperately proud, that scarce any Gentleman might come near the Tayle of their Mules.

Mules. And many things I perceive of that nature do even yet stick upon the stomachs of the *Old Gentlemen* of those times. For the *English* have been alwayes very tender of their Religion, their Liberty, their Propriety, and (I was going to say) no less of their Reputation. Neither yet do I speak of these things with passion, considering at more distance how natural it is for men to desire to be in Office, and no less natural to grow proud and intractable in Office; and the less a Clergyman is so, the more he deserves to be commended. But these things before mentioned, grew yet higher, after that Bishop *Land* was once not only exalted to the See of *Canterbury*, but to be chief Minister. Happy had it been for the King, happy for the Nation, and happy for himself, had he never climbed that Pinnacle. For whether it be or no, that the Clergy are not so well fitted by Education, as others for Political Affairs, I know not; though I should rather think they have advantage above

bove others, and even if they would but keep to their Bibles, might make the best Ministers of State in the world; yet it is generally observed that things miscarry under their Government. If there be any Counsel more precipitate, more violent, more rigorous, more extreme than others, that is theirs. Truly, I think the reason that God does not bless them in Affairs of State, is, because he never intended them for that Employment. Or if Government, and the Preaching of the Gospel, may well concur in the same person: God therefore frustrates him, because though knowing better, he seeks and manages his greatness by the lesser and meaner *Maxims*. I am confident the Bishop studied to do both God and his Majesty good service, but alas, how utterly was he mistaken. Though so learned, so pious, so wise a Man, he seem'd to know nothing beyond *Ceremonies*, *Arminianism*, and *Manwaring*. With that he begun, and with that ended, and thereby deform'd the whole Reign of the best Prince.

Prince that ever wielded the *English* Scepter.

For his late Majesty being a Prince truly Pious and Religious, was thereby the more inclined to esteem and favour the Clergy. And thence, though himself of a most exquisite understanding, yet though he could not trust it better than in their keeping. Whereas every man is best in his own Post, and so the Preacher in the Pulpit. But he that will do the Clergies drudgery, must look for his reward in another World. For they having gained this Ascendent upon him, resolv'd whatever became on't to make their best of him; and having made the whole business of State their *Arminian* Jangles, and the persecution for Ceremonies, did for recompence assign him that imaginary absolute Government, upon which Rock we all ruined.

For now was come the last part of the *Archbishops* indiscretion; who having strained those strings so high here, and all at the same time, which no wise man ever did; he moreover had

a mind to try the same dangerous Experiment in *Scotland*, and sent thither the Book of the *English Liturgy*, to be imposed upon them. What followed thereupon, is yet within the compass of most Mens memories. And how the War broke out, and then to be sure Hell's broke loose. Whether it were a War of Religion, or of Liberty, is not worth the labour to enquire. Which soever was at the top, the other was at the bottom; but upon considering all, I think the Cause was too good to have been fought for. Men ought to have trusted God; they ought and might have trusted the King with that whole matter. The *Arms of the Church are Prayers & Tears*, the Arms of the Subjects are Patience and Petition. The King himself being of so accurate and piercing a Judgment, would soon have felt where it stuck. For men may spare their pains where Nature is at work, and the world will not go the faster for our driving. Even as his present Majesties happy Restoration did it self, so all things

things else happen in their best and proper time, without any need of our officiousness.

But after all the fatal consequences of that Rebellion, which can only serve as Sea marks unto wise Princes to avoid the Causes, shall this sort of Men still vindicate themselves as the most zealous Assertors of the Rights of Princes? They are but at the best *well-meaning Zealots*. Shall, to decline so pernicious Counsels, and to provide better for the quiet of Government, be traduced as the Author does here, under these odious terms of *for-saking the Church, and delivering up the Church*? Shall these Men always presume to usurp to themselves that venerable style of the *Church of England*? God forbid. The *Independents* at that rate would not have so many distinct Congregations as they. There would be *Sibthorps-Church*, and *Manwaring's-Church*, and *Mountagues Church*, and a whole Bed-roll more; whom for decencies sake I abstain from naming. And every Man that could invent a
new

new Opinion, or a new Ceremony, or a new Tax, should be a new Church of England.

Neither, as far as I can discern, have this sort of the Clergy since his Majesties return, given him better Incouragement to steer by their Compass. I am told, that preparatory to that, they had frequent Meetings in the City, I know not whether in *Grub-street*, with the Divines of the other party, and that there in their Feasts of Love, they promised to forget all former Offences, to lay by all Animosities, that there should be a new Heaven, and a new Earth, all Meekness, Charity, and Condescension. His Majesty, I am sure, sent over his Gracious Declaration of *Liberty to tender Consciences*, and upon his coming over, seconded it with his Commission under the broad Seal, for a Conference betwixt the two parties, to prepare things for an Accommodation, that he might Confirm it by his Royal Authority. Hereupon what do they? Notwithstanding this happy Conjunction of his Ma-

Majesties Restauration, which had put all Men into so good a humour, that upon a little moderation and temper of things, the Nonconformists could not have stuck out; some of these Men so contriv'd it, that there should not be the least abatement to bring them off with Conscience, and (which insinuates into all men) some little Reputation. But to the contrary, several unnecessary additions were made, only because they knew they would be more ingrateful and *stigmatical* to the Nonconformists. I remember one in the *Litaney*, where to *False Doctrine and Heresie*, they added *Schism*, though it were to spoil the *Musick* and cadence of the period; but these things were the best. To shew that they were Men like others, even cunning Men, revengeful Men, they drill'd things on, till they might procure a Law, wherein besides all the Conformity that had been of former times enacted, there might be some new Conditions imposed on those that should have, or hold any Church-Livings, such as they assur'd themselves, that

that rather than swallow, the Nonconformists would disgorge all their Benefices. And accordingly it succeeded; several thousands of those Ministers being upon one memorable day outed of their subsistence. His Majesty in the mean time, although they had thus far prevailed to frustrate his Royal Intentions, had Reinstated the Church in all its former Revenues, Dignities, and Advantages, so far from the Authors mischievous aspersions of ever thinking of converting them to his own use, that he restored them free from what was due to him by Law upon their first admission. So careful was he, *because all Government must owe its quiet and continuance to the Churches Patronage*, to pay them even what they ow'd. But I have observed, that if a Man be in the Churches debt once, 'tis very hard to get an Acquittance: And these men never think they have their full Rights, unless they Reign. What would they have had more? They rowl'd on a flood of wealth, and yet in matter of a Lease, would make no difference be-

twixt a Nonconformist, and one of their own fellow sufferers, who had ventur'd his life, and spent his Estate for the King's service. They were restor'd to Parliament, and to take their places with the King and Nobility. They had a new *Liturgie* to their own hearts desire; and to cumulate all this happiness, they had this new Law against the *Fanaticks*. All they had that could be devised in the World to make a Clergyman good natur'd.

Nevertheless after all their former Sufferings, and after all these new enjoyments and acquisitions, they have proceeded still in the same track. The matter of Ceremonies, to be sure, hath not only exercised their ancient rigour and severity, but hath been a main ingredient of their publick Discourses, of their Sermons, of their Writings. I could not (though I do not make it my work after a great example, to look over *Epistles Dedicatory*) but observe by chance the Title page of a Book tother day, as an *Emblem* how much some of them do neglect the Scripture in respect

spect to their darling Ceremonies. A
Rationale upon the Book of Common-Prayer
of the Church of England by A. Spar-
row, D. D. Bishop of Exon. With the
Form of Consecration of a Church or
Chapel, and of the place of Christian Bu-
rial By Lancelot Andrews, late Lord Bi-
shop of Winchester. Sold by Robert Paw-
let at the Sign of the Bible in Chancery
Lane. These surely are worthy cares for
the Fathers of the Church.

But to let these things alone ; How
 have they of late years demean'd
 themselves to his Majesty , although
 our Author urges their immediate de-
 pendance on the King to be a great ob-
 ligation he hath upon their Loyalty
 and Fidelity ? I have heard that some
 of them , when a great Minister of
 State grew burdensome to his Majesty
 and the Nation, stood almost in defi-
 ance of his Majesties good pleasure,
 and fought it out to the uttermost in
 his defence. I have been told that
 some of them in a matter of *Divorce*,
 wherein his Majesty desired that Justice
 might be done to the party agriev'd,
 op-

opposed him vigorously, though they made bold too with a point of Conscience in the case, and went against the Judgment of the best Divines of all parties. It hath been observed, that whensoever his Majesty hath had the most urgent occasions of Supply, others of them have made it their business to triuckle with the *Members of Parliament*, for obstructing it, unless the King would buy it with a new Law against the Fanaticks. And hence it is that the Wisdom of his Majesty and the Parliament must be exposed to after Ages, for such a *Superfotation of Acts* in his Reign about the same business. And no sooner can his Majesty upon his own best Reasons try to obviate this inconvenience, but our Author, who had before out-shot *Sibshorp* and *Manwaring* in their own Bows, is now for retrenching his Authority, and moreover calumniates the State with a likelihood, and the reasons thereof of *the return of Popery* into this Nation. And this hath been his first Method by the *Fanaticks*
raising

raising disturbance: Whereupon, if I have raked farther into things than I would have done, the Author's indiscretion will, I hope, excuse me, and gather all the blame for reviving those things which were to be buried in Oblivion. But, by what appears, I cannot see that there is any probability of disturbance in the State, but by men of his spirit and principles.

The second way whereby the Fanatick party, he saith, may at last work the ruine of the Church, is by *combining with the Atheists, for their Union is like the mixture of Nitre and Charcoal, it carries all before it without mercy or resistance*. So it seems, when you have made Gun-powder of the Atheists and Fanatics, we are like to be blown up with Popery. And so will the Larks too. But his zeal spends it self most against the *Atheists*, because they use to *jeer the Parsons*. That they may do, and no Atheists neither. For really, while Clergy men will, having so serious an office, play the *Drolls* and the Boon-companions, and make merry with

with the Scriptures, not only among themselves, but in Gentlemen's-company, 'tis impossible but that they should meet with, at least, an unlucky Repartee sometimes, and grow by degrees to be a Tayle, and contempt to the People. Nay, even that which our Author always magnifies, the Reputation, the Interest, the singular grandeur of the Church, is indeed the very thing which renders them ridiculous to many, and looks as improper and buffoonish, as to have seen the Porter lately in the good *Doctors Cassock* and Girdle. For, to they tell me, that there are no where more Atheists than at *Rome*, because men seeing that Princely garb and Pomp of the Clergy, and observing their life and manners, think therefore the meaner of Religion. For certainly, the Reputation and Interest of the Clergy, was first gained by abstracting themselves from the World, attending their Callings, Humility, strictness of Doctrine, and the same strictness in Conversation; and things are best preserved by the same means they were at first

first attained. But if our Author had been as concern'd against Atheisme, as he is against their disrespect of his function, he should have been content that the Fanatick Preachers might have spent some of their *Pulpit-sweat* upon the Atheists, and made a noise in their ears, about *Faith, Communion with God, attendance upon Ordinances*, which he himself jeers at so pleasantly. Neither do I like upon the same reasons his manner of Discourse with the Atheists, where he complains that ours are not like those good Atheists of former times, who never did thrust themselves into publick cares and concerns, 'minding nothing but Love, Wine, and Poetry. Nor in another place, 'Put the case the Clergy 'were Cheats and Juglers, yet it must be 'allowed they are necessary Instruments 'of State to aw the Common People into 'fear and obedience, because nothing else 'can so effectually inflave them ('tis this it seems our Author would be at) 'as the 'fear of invisible powers, and the dismal 'apprehensions of the World to come: 'and for this very reason, though there 'were no other, it is fit they should be allowed the same honour and respect, as 'would

O

would be acknowledged their due, if they were sincere and honest men. No Atheist could have said better. How mendicant a cause has he here made of it; they will say, They see where the shoe wrings him, and that though this be some ingenuity in him, yet it is but little Policy. Nay, perhaps they will say, That they are no Atheists neither, but onely, I know not by what Fate, every day, one or other of the Clergy does, or saith, some so ridiculous and foolish thing, or some so pritty accident befalls them, that in our Authors words, *a man must be very splenetick that can refrain from laughter.* I would have quoted the page here, but that the Author has, I think for evasion sake, omitted to number them in this whole Preface. But whether there be any Atheists or no, which I question more than Witches, I do not for all this take our Author to be one, though some would conclude it out of his Principles, others out of his expressions. Yet really, I think he hath done that sort of men so much service in his Books, by his ill handling, and while he personates one party, making all Religion ridiculous, that they will never be able to requite him but in the same manner.

manner. He hath opened them a whole Treasury of words and sentences, universally applicable; where they may rifle or chuse things, which their pitiful wit, as he calls it, would never have been able to invent and flourish. But truly, as the simple *Parliament* 5. *Eliz.* never imagined what consequence that clause in the *Wednesday* *F.* would have to *Puritanism*, neither did he what his *Periods* would have to *Atheism*; and yet though he is so more excusable, I hope, I may have the same leave on him, as he on that *Parliament*, to censure his Impertinence. To close this; I know a Lady that chid her Master of the Horse, for correcting the Page that had sworn a great Oath. For, saith she, *The Boy did therein show only the Generosity of his Courage, and his acknowledgment of a Deity.* And indeed, he hath approv'd his Religion, and justified himself from *Atheism* much after the same manner.

The third way and last (which I being tired, am very glad of) by which the Fanatics may raise Disturbances, and so introduce *Popery*, is by joyning crafty and sacrilegious States-men into the Confederacy. But really here he doth speak concerning

King, and Counsellors, at such a rate, and describe and characterize some men so, whomsoever he intends, that though I know there are no such, I dare not touch, it is too hazardous. 'Tis true, he passes his Complement ill-favouredly enough. 'The Church has at present an impregnable affiance in the wisdom, &c. of so gracious a Prince, that is not capable of such Counsels, should they be suggested to him: though certainly no man that is worthy to be admitted to his Majesties Favour or Privacy; can be supposed so fool-hardy or presumptuous as to offer such weak and dishonourable advice to so wise and able a Prince; Yet Princes are mortal, and if ever hereafter, (and some time or other it must happen) the Crown should chance to settle upon a young and unexperienc'd head, this is usually the first thing in which such Princes are abused by their Keepers and Guardians, &c. But this Complement is no better at best, than if discoursing with a man of another, I should take him by the Beard. Upon such occasions in company, we use to ask, Sir, *Whom do you mean?* I am sure our Author takes it always for granted, that his Answerer intends him upon

on more indefinite and less direct provocations. But our Author does even personate some men as speaking at present against the Church, ' They will intangle
 ' your affairs, indanger your safety, hazard
 ' your Crown, All the reward you shall
 ' have to compensate your misfortunes,
 ' by following Church Counsels, shall
 ' be that a few Church-men, or such like
 ' people, shall cry you up for a Saint or a
 Martyr. Still *your, your*, as if it were a
 close discourse unto his Majesty himself.
 Though if this were the worst that they
 said, or that the Author fathers upon them,
 I wish the King might never have better
 Counsellors about him. But if the Au-
 thor be secure, for the present, in his Ma-
 jesties Reign, fears not Popery, not forsak-
 ing the Church, not assuming the Church
 Revenues, why is he so provident? why put
 things in mens heads they never thought
 of? why stir such an odious, seditious, im-
 pertinent, unseasonable discourse? why
 take this very minute of time, but that he
 hath mischief, to say no worse, in his heart?
 He had no such remote conceit (for all his
 talk) of an *Infant* coming to the Crown.
He is not so weak but knows too much,

and is too well instructed, to speak to so little purpose. That would have been like a set of *Elisbeth Players*, that in the Country having worn out and over-acted all Playes they brought with them from *London*, laid their wits together to make a new one of their own. No less man than *Julius Caesar* was the Argument; and one of the chief parts was *Moses*; perswading *Julius Caesar* not to make War against his own Countrey, nor pass *Rubicon*. If our Author did not speak of our present times (to do which nevertheless had been sufficiently false and absurd) but writ all this meerly out of his Providence for after ages, I shall no more call him *Bayes*, for he is just such a *second Moses*. I ask pardon, if I have said too much, but I shall deserve none, if I meddle any further with so improbable and dangerous a business.

To conclude, the Author gives us one ground more, and perhaps more *Seditiously* insinuated than any of the former; that is, if it should so prove, that is, if the *Fanaticks* by their wanton and unreasonable opposition to the ingenious and moderate Discipline of the Church of England,

shall

shall give their Governours too much reason to suspect that they are never to be kept in order by a milder, and more Gentle Government than that of the Church of Rome, and force them at last to scourge them into better manners, with the Briars and Thorns of their Discipline. It seems then that the Discipline contended about, is worth such an alteration. It seems that he knows something more than I did believe of the Design in the late times before the War. Whom doth he mean by *our Governours*? the King; No, for he is a single person. The Parliament, or the Bishops.

I have now done, after I have (which is I think due) given the Reader, and the Author, a short account how I came to write this Book, and in this manner. First of all, I was offended at the presumption and arrogance of his stile; whereas there is nothing either of Wit, or Eloquence in all his Books, worthy of a Readers, and more unfit for his own, taking notice of. Then his infinite *Tautology* was burdensome, which seem'd like marching a Company round a Hill upon a pay-day so often, till if the Muster-master were not attentive, they might receive the pay of a

Regiment. All the variety of his Treat is *Pork* (he knows the story) but so little disguised by good Cookery, that it discovers the miserableness, or rather the penury of the Host. When I observed how he inveighs against the *Trading-part* of the Nation, I thought he deserved to be within the *five mile Act*, and not to come within that distance of any Corporation. I could not patiently see how irreverently he treated Kings and Princes, as if they had been no better than *King Phys*, and *King Ush* of *Branford*. I thought his profanation of the Scripture intolerable; For though he alledges that 'tis only in order to shew how it was misapplied by the Fanaticks, he might have done that too, and yet preserved the Dignity and Reverence of those sacred Writings, which he hath not done; but on the contrary, he hath in what is properly his own taken the most of all his Ornaments, and Imbennishments thence in a scurrilous and sacrilegious stile; insomuch that it were it honest, I will undertake out of him to make a better, that is a more ridiculous and profaner Book, than *all the Friendly Debates* bound up together. Methought

I never saw a more bold and wicked attempt, than that of reducing *Grace*, and making it a meer *Fable*, of which he gives us the *Moral*. I was sorry to see that even prayer could not be admitted to be a virtue, having thought hitherto it had been a *Grace*, and a peculiar gift of the Spirit; But I considered, that that prayer ought to be discouraged, in order to prefer the *Liturgy*. He seem'd to speak so little like a Divine in all those matters, that the *Pope* might as well have pretended to be the *Bishop Davenant*, and that description of the Poets of *Prayer* and *Praise* was better than our Authors on the same Subject. *Canto the 6th*, where he likens *Prayer* to the Ocean;

*For Prayer the Ocean is where diversly
Men steer their course each to a several coast;
Where all our interests so discordant lye,
That half beg winds, by which the rest are
lost.*

And *Praise* he compares to the Union of Fanaticks and Atheists, &c. that is *Gunpowder*; *Praise* is *Devotion* fit for mighty minds, &c.

Its

Its utmost force, like Powder, is unknown.
And though weak Kings excess of praise may
fear,
Yet when 'tis here, like Powder, dangerous
grown,
Heavens vault receives, what would the
Palace tear.

Indeed all *Astragon* appear'd to me the
 better *Scheme of Religion*. But it is unne-
 cessary here to recapitulate all, one by one,
 what I have in the former Discourse taken
 notice of. I shall onely add, what gave, if
 not the greatest, yet the *last* impulse to my
 writing. I had observed in his first Book,
 p. 57. that he had said, 'Some pert and
 'pragmatical Divines, had filled the world
 'with a Buzze and Noise of the Divine
 'Spirit; which seemed to me so horribly
 irreverent, as if he had taken his similitude
 from the *Hum and Buz* of the *Humble-*
Bee in the *Rehearsal*.

In the same Book, I have before mention-
 ed that most unsafe passage, of our *Saviour*
 being not onely in an hot fit of zeal, but in a
 seeming fury and transport of Passion. And
 striving to unhook himself hence, p. 132
 of his second Book, swallows it deeper
 saying

saying, *Our blessed Saviour did in that action take upon him the Person and Priviledge of a Jewish Zealot. Take upon him the Person that is Personam induere. And what part did he play? Of a Jewish Zealot.*

The second Person of the Trinity (may I repeat these things without offence) to take upon him the person of a Jewish Zealot, that is, of a notorious Rogue and Cut-throat.

This seemed to proceed from too slight an apprehension and knowledge of the duty we ow to our Saviour. And last of all, in this Preface, as before quoted, he saith, *the Non-conformist Preachers do spend most of their Pulpit-sweat in making a noise about Communion with God.* So that there is not one person of the Trinity that he hath not done despite to: and lest he should have distinct Communion with the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, for which he mocks his Answerer; he hath spoken evil distinctly of the Father, distinctly of the Son, and distinctly of the Holy Ghost. That only remain'd behind, wherein our Author might surpass the Character given to *Aretine*, a famous man of his Faculty.

*Qui giace il Aretino
Chi de tutti mal disse fuor d' Addio
Ma di questo si senza perche no' l conobbe.*

*Here lies Aretine,
Who spoke evil of all, except God only,
But of this he begs excuse, because he did
not know him.*

And now I have done. And I shall think my self largely recompensed for this trouble, if any one that hath been formerly of another mind, shall learn by this example, that it is not impossible to be merry and angry as long time as I have been writing, without profaning and violating those things which are and ought to be most Sacred.

F I N I S.

Leaves
counted

17







M 881 B
Marvell, Andrew